

MPU TANAKUN

ŚIWARĀTRIKALPA

ŚĪWARĀTRIKALPA

BIBLIOTHECA INDONESIA

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ŚIWARĀTRIKALPA *of MPU TANAKUN*

An Old Javanese poem, its Indian source
and Balinese illustrations

by

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Springer-Science+Business Media, B.V.

1969

ISBN 978-94-011-8643-8 ISBN 978-94-011-9429-7 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-94-011-9429-7

The Bibliotheca Indonesica is a series of texts in Indonesian languages published in critical edition and accompanied by a translation and commentary. As such it is a continuation of the Bibliotheca Javanica which from 1930 onward was published by the Royal Batavia Society for Arts and Sciences, though with two significant differences: the Bibliotheca Indonesica contains texts in various Indonesian languages, and the translations and commentaries are in English. In this way the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology aims to contribute further to the unlocking of the treasury of Indonesian literatures for the benefit of international scholarship. Special thanks are due to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for making available the grant which enabled the Institute to launch this new project.

The series has been designed in such a way as to serve not only the needs of students of literature proper. Historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, sociologists and linguists as well as students of comparative religion and law may also find much in this literature to enrich and deepen their insight. It is hoped, finally, that the Bibliotheca Indonesica, by presenting a variety of products of the Indonesian mind to a wider public, may form a valuable contribution to the mutual understanding of the peoples of East and West.

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P R E F A C E

In the fifteenth century the ritual called the Night of Śiwa was well-known in South India, more specifically in the Empire of Vijayanagara, which was flourishing at that time. A Javanese poet of those days, Mpu Tanakuñ by name, who had become acquainted with the ritual, wrote a didactic poem which aimed to make it known and have it accepted in his own country. For this religious message he employed the form of the *kakawin*, the court poem or *kāvya* of Java, and in imitation of Indian models he clad his message in the tale of the hunter, Lubdhaka, who despite his sinful existence was able to share the bliss of heaven through the simple fact that — by accident and unawares — he fulfilled the essential elements of the ritual.

It is not known whether the poet's efforts met with success in Java itself; his poem did, however, remain known in Bali, the preserver of so many items of medieval Javanese culture. Not only have Balinese priests laid down and elaborated in religious works the ritual which he proclaimed, but the poem has also inspired Balinese artists to make paintings, in former centuries as well as this. And so the story with its religious message from India, by way of the inspiration of a Javanese poet, has become part of the Indonesian cultural heritage.

Five centuries after Tanakuñ five authors, representing three nationalities, have ventured to write the present book, endeavouring to combine the approaches of the philologist, the historian and the art-historian. Although they have written this book together and have derived much inspiration and pleasure from such teamwork, no attempt has been made to shape it into a complete unity with regard to form or content. The three Parts into which the work is divided bear the imprint of the authors who are primarily responsible for them; there may even be slight inconsistencies or contradictions between them.

For this reason as well as others it may be useful to set out briefly how the book came into existence and what specific contribution each of the five authors has made. I should actually have said six authors, for although the name of Miss M. J. L. van Yperen does not appear

on the title-page as she does not in the strict sense bear responsibility for the book, she has nevertheless had an important part in its creation. She has exercised considerable influence on the English of the book, not only as co-translator of the work of the Dutch authors, but also as permanent linguistic conscience of the English-speaking authors. With boundless patience and great accuracy she has again and again typed new drafts of the various sections of the work, and finally she has cheerfully joined in ploughing through the proofs. It can rightly be said that without her devoted co-operation the book could never have appeared in this form.

The origin of this publication goes back to the academic year 1966-67 when the undersigned, professor of Bahasa Indonesia and Malay at the University of Leiden, had undertaken to give lectures in Old Javanese during the absence of his colleague for Javanese. For material the choice fell on an unpublished text, the *Lubdhaka*, as it is called in the manuscript catalogues. The students who followed these lectures included two graduates from the University of Sydney, S. O. Robson, M.A., and P. J. Worsley, B.A., who were to become the two Australian authors of the book. In the second term the lectures were taken over by P. J. Zoetmulder, professor of Old Javanese at Gadjah Mada University, Jogjakarta, who was then in Holland on leave and received a temporary teaching appointment at the University of Leiden for Old Javanese. Week by week the interpretation of the text as reached in lectures was recorded in an English translation, and after the lectures had ended this work of translation was continued by Teeuw and Robson. Zoetmulder's very extensive lexicographical notes for Old Javanese, kept in the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden, contributed very considerably to the translation, which was later again checked by Zoetmulder in Jogjakarta. He also made available an address on the dating of the text which he had held some time before; this is attached to the Introduction as an Appendix. Because of the distance separating Leiden and Jogjakarta he could not be involved in the whole work as closely as the other authors; this is why he is sometimes quoted as a source of information as though he were not a joint author. Even so, his name cannot be missed from the title-page: his contribution to the translation through the lexicographical notes as well as orally during the lectures and his information on the text and its background make his share in the book a substantial one.

Teeuw and Robson are together responsible for the philological work

associated with the edition of the text, for which Zoetmulder provided them with notes on the Djakarta manuscript. They also wrote the Introduction, thereby profiting from regular contact with the other authors. In this connection mention should be made of the help received from Th. P. Galestin, professor of the archaeology and ancient history of South and South-East Asia at the University of Leiden; the commentary on those parts of the text where descriptions of countryside, villages and temples occur is largely based on long and stimulating conversations held with him. The translation of the Old Javanese text itself has also benefited at various points from Galestin's expert knowledge of the archaeology and art-history of Java and Bali.

Part Two of the book, concerning the Sanskrit source of the Old Javanese poem, was written by Drs. P. J. Worsley, at present *wetenschappelijk medewerker* (lecturer) at the University of Leiden; he was able to make use of information on the Śiwarātri story in Western and Indian sources formerly assembled by Galestin.

Galestin himself wrote Part Three, of which the English translation was prepared by Robson, in close consultation with the author.

Robson is primarily responsible for the technical apparatus which ends the book.

Many others have made a more or less important contribution to the creation of this book. At the stage when it was being prepared as lecture material, Mr. J. Soegiarto assisted by making a provisional comparison of the manuscripts on the basis of his transliteration of MS. B. This formed a starting-point for the reading of the text. Dr. G. H. Schokker and Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg checked the Sanskrit text and English translation to be found in Part Two. In Part Three Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel checked the translation of the Balinese captions occurring with Illustration 2b; Mr. J. Soegiarto made the transliteration. Dr. C. Hooykaas assisted the authors with information on the Balinese Śiwarātri ritual additional to what he published in his book of 1964.

Many thanks are due to the staff of the libraries of the Instituut Kern and the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, both in Leiden, who have always been most helpful in providing the authors with the books and materials they needed.

Gratitude is also expressed to the Director of the University Library in Leiden who has given permission for the use of the Library's

manuscripts in the publication; to the Director of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam who gave permission for the reproduction of the Balinese paintings in its possession; to Ir. Th. A. Resink who kindly allowed us to reproduce a painting in his possession; to the Director of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden who gave permission to make the necessary photographs, and also to his photographer, Mr. C. Zwanenburg, who actually made the photographs which are reproduced in this book.

Thanks are finally given to persons and institutions which have made this publication possible in a practical way: to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) which granted a subsidy enabling Drs. S. O. Robson and Miss M. J. L. van Yperen to engage in this and other editorial work for the *Bibliotheca Indonesica*; and to the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden which agreed to accept and publish the book in this series.

A. TEEUW

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PART ONE



THE DEATH OF LUBDHAKA
(For description, see pp. 220-222.)

INTRODUCTION

1. *The kakawin as a literary genre*

Siwarātrikalpa belongs to the genre of Old Javanese poetry which is generally dubbed *kakawin*. *Kawi* means "poet", and *kakawin* is a noun regularly derived from the root *kawi* by affixation of the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-(ĕ)n*.¹ Actually the word *kakawin* is simply an Old Javanese transposition of the Sanskrit *kāvya*, and means "poetry", in particular poetry of a special type, and also "poem" written in a particular kind of metre. In most formal characteristics, and also to a certain extent in content, the Old Javanese *kakawin* correspond with the Indian *kāvya*.

A formal correspondence implies that the requirements for Indian poetry are also in substance applicable to the Old Javanese *kakawin*. In particular this applies to the question of metre — the Old Javanese *kakawin* are written in various metres which are largely borrowed directly from Sanskrit literature, and to the extent that they have not been found in India they are nevertheless based on the same principles. This metrical system is based on the distinction between long and short syllables. There are many different metres, and each one is characterized by a fixed number of syllables per line, as well as a fixed succession of long and short syllables. A stanza consists of four lines which are formally identical (an exception is the type consisting of three unequal lines; see, e.g., Canto 17 in this text). A random number of stanzas goes to make up a canto, which is thus monoschematic.

The adoption by Old Javanese poets of a metrical system based on the distinction between long and short syllables is in itself a remarkable phenomenon, as a distinction in quantity is not phonemically relevant in Javanese as we know it today. A syllable is considered as long when it either (a) contains a long vowel, or (b) contains a short vowel followed by more than one consonant. In the former category, long vowels are found in Sanskrit-derived words, certain Indonesian words,

¹ Next to *ka-* *-ĕn* one also finds nouns formed with *ka-* *-an*; the latter has become the regular formation in later Javanese. See Zoetmulder, 1950, p. 73.

and as products of the application to Old Javanese of the Sanskrit rules of *sandhi*. These matters will be discussed further in the section on metrics and poetics, but the point to be stressed here is the success with which the poets of Java managed to apply a foreign metrical system to their own language.

In addition to versification the Javanese poets were certainly not ignorant of the other requirements of Indian poetics, and at least in some *kakawin* all kinds of *alamkāra* (figures of speech) are regularly or occasionally employed. Unfortunately a systematic investigation has yet to be made into this aspect of Old Javanese poetics, and more specifically into the question of whether the Javanese poets just blindly imitated their models or rather adapted them to suit their own language and cultural setting. In this connection we think especially of the metaphor in the widest sense, and the natural symbolism which occupies a central position in Old Javanese poetry.

If it is thus possible to place all *kakawin* under one heading with regard to form,² it is much more difficult to do this with regard to content. It is perhaps true that many *kakawin* treat subjects more or less familiar from Indian sources, primarily the epics and *purāṇa*, but this does not tell us much, and furthermore it does not apply to all *kakawin*.

The oldest extant *kakawin* is the *Rāmāyaṇa*,³ which, as has been established by Hooykaas,⁴ was based on the *Rāvaṇavadha*, an Indian *kāvya* by Bhaṭṭi, and better known as Bhaṭṭikāvya. This *kāvya* is a reworking of the story contained in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Old Javanese text dates from the Central Javanese period (probably from the latter part of it), and is the only long text of the genre known to us from this time.⁵ It has been suggested that the work was intended to function as a model and a manual for Javanese poets.⁶ On the other hand it bears witness to such a polished technique and poetical sophistication that we can assume that it was preceded by considerable earlier poetical activity, which has unfortunately been lost.⁷

² There remain, nevertheless, interesting differences between various *kakawin*, e.g. in the relative length of the cantos (i.e. number of stanzas per canto); see Hooykaas, 1955, pp. 35-38.

³ Ed. Kern, 1900.

⁴ Hooykaas, 1955; see Conclusions, pp. 34-35.

⁵ Poerbatjaraka, 1932.

⁶ Hooykaas, 1958.

⁷ De Casparis, 1956, published an inscription which shows many characteristics of a *kakawin* and which is dated A.D. 856 (see pp. 280-330).

A number of *kakawin* have been preserved from the East Javanese period of Javanese cultural history (10th-16th centuries). These are very diverse in subject matter. The oldest of them is *Arjunawiwāha*,⁸ the tale of Arjuna's defeat of the demon *Niwātakawaca* and his subsequent marriage to heavenly nymphs. The elements of the story are known from the *Mahābhārata* but not this particular story as a whole. The text mentions the name of the ruling king, *Airlangga*, and hence can most probably be dated in the first half of the eleventh century. No less well-known is the *kakawin* *Bhāratayuddha*,⁹ written in 1157 in the reign of king *Jayabhaya* of *Kaḍiri*. This poem treats the conflict between the *Kaurawas* and *Pāṇḍawas* as is found in the *Mahābhārata*, Books VI-X, but much abbreviated and restricted to the main theme. Various other *kakawin*, such as *Bhomakāwya*, *Kṛṣṇāyana*, *Hariwaṇśa*, *Ghaṭotkacāśraya*, *Sumanasāntaka*, *Smaradahana* or *Arjunawijaya*,¹⁰ treat themes which can be retraced more or less to the Indian epics or *purāṇa*, although sometimes containing striking deviations from the Indian versions known to us, which have not yet been satisfactorily accounted for. There is also a *kakawin* which uses a Buddhist theme (*Sutasoma*), while the famous *Nāgarakṛtāgama* is not based on any Indian model but contains a description of Java in the time of the poet (1365) — hence its actual title, *Deśawarnaṇa* (Description of the Country).¹¹ The *kakawin* *Śiwarātrikalpa* (*Lubdhaka*), *Wṛttasañcaya* and *Udyalāka* will be mentioned shortly.

In view of the great diversity of subjects treated in *kakawin*, and in view of the long period (approximately six centuries) during which the genre was popular in Java, under very different cultural, religious and social conditions, it is very unlikely that all *kakawin* can be placed on the same footing with regard to function and aim. However, as long as so few *kakawin* are available in critical editions, with a reasonable translation and commentary, any generalized judgment is premature. The only thing which we can say with any degree of certainty is that Old Javanese poets were aware of a close link between their literary

⁸ Ed. Poerbatjaraka, 1926b.

⁹ Ed. Gunning, 1903; Dutch transl. by Poerbatjaraka and Hooykaas, 1934.

¹⁰ Of these the following have been edited and published: *Bhomakāwya* (ed. Friederich V.B.G. 24, 1852; Dutch transl. by Teeuw, 1946); *Hariwaṇśa* (ed. and Dutch transl. by Teeuw, 1950); and *Smaradahana* (ed. and Dutch transl. by Poerbatjaraka, 1931). No copy of the edition, with Indonesian translation, of *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* by Soetjipto was available. For further information on these texts see Pigeaud, 1967.

¹¹ Latest ed. by Pigeaud, 1960-63. The title is found twice in Canto 94: 2c and 4c.

activities and religion — although perhaps the nature of this link varied between individuals. Through his work the poet wished to realize religious aims, on his own behalf or on behalf of his king and his country. Literary beauty was the means by which he, as a yogi, would achieve union with the godhead and hence be released from bondage to the world. This is seen clearly in the opening and closing passages of *kakawin*, where the poet generally explains the aim of his work; Zoetmulder studied these matters in his important article *Kawi and Kakawin*.¹² In this connection we should not overlook a possible function of certain *kakawin* as textbooks for *wayan* performances. There is still a great deal of obscurity with regard to Old Javanese theatre and its relationship to literature; however, we may be fairly certain that the close interaction between *layan* (literature) and *wayan* (theatre) has not been restricted to more recent times. Van Stein Callenfels made some relevant observations on this point more than forty years ago,¹³ and Ensink¹⁴ recently added interesting information to what we knew from Van der Tuuk¹⁵ about the Balinese *dalan* using *kakawin* as text material for his *wayan* performances.

The writer of *Śīwarātrikalpa* clearly also had his own more specific aims in mind for this text. It seems plain that he was hoping to disseminate knowledge of the observance of the Night of Śīwa (*Śīwarātrikalpa*) — to relate how it should be performed and to illustrate with a story the great spiritual benefits to be enjoyed through performance of the rite.¹⁶ Whether he was commissioned by the overlord to compose such a work we cannot tell. The first three stanzas tell of the benefits which the poet hopes to bring his king and himself through his composition, and as such apparently comply with all the requirements for an East Javanese *kakawin*. But the didactic value of the work may well have been much more prominent in the author's mind than its religious or purely poetic functions.

Before discussing in some detail a number of questions relating to *Śīwarātrikalpa*, one more general point with regard to Old Javanese poetry should be raised. The question which should be asked is: what happened to the poem once it had been composed? How was it used? Bearing in mind the fact that the subject is relatively unexplored and

¹² Zoetmulder, 1957.

¹³ Van Stein Callenfels, 1925, esp. p. 173 ff.

¹⁴ Ensink, 1967, p. 2. See also Wayan Bhadra, 1937, p. 15 of the offprint.

¹⁵ Van der Tuuk, 1881, p. 49.

¹⁶ See Hooykaas, 1964, pt. V, and this Introduction, Section 12.

remembering the diversity within the genre of the *kakawin* which was suggested above, we could approach the question as follows. Today in Java poetry is referred to under the generic term *tĕmban*. But this also means "song", and in fact no distinction is felt to be necessary. That is to say, poetry is meant to be sung. The singing of *tĕmban* is a popular evening pastime among ordinary people, and some are very accomplished singers. The words of these songs are composed in *macapat* metres, and each kind has a characteristic melody associated with it.¹⁷ Furthermore there is indisputable evidence, in the form of musical notes in the manuscripts, that the poems written in *tĕnahan* metres were also intended to be sung.¹⁸ Hence it would seem strange, and contrary to Javanese tradition, if poetry in the "great metres" (*kakawin*) was not meant to be sung. Moreover, we know from Bali that OJ *kakawin* are still sung there by way of entertainment.¹⁹ An important feature of Javanese music and singing is the division of the melody into equal phrases, and hence the number of syllables per line of verse becomes important. In this respect, of course, *kakawin* metres are as strict as any later type of Javanese metre. We may even assume that each metre had its own tune, as in the case of *tĕmban* today, but there is no evidence for this. Javanese romantic literature contains many instances of someone who, to comfort his troubled heart, retires to a garden to sing *kiduñ* and *kakawin* to himself;²⁰ this suggests that no distinction in function was made between poetry in Indian and that in indigenous Javanese metres.

2. Summary of Contents

Canto 1. Canto 1, consisting of three stanzas, contains the important *maṅgala* of the poem, mentioning the name of the king: Suraprabhāwa of the Girindra dynasty.

Canto 2. The story commences in 2, 1. There was once a *niṣāda* (see Gloss.) named Lubdhaka who lived with his family in the mountains.

¹⁷ See Geertz, 1960, pp. 280-281.

¹⁸ See Juynboll, 1907, pp. 231 and 233.

¹⁹ Wayan Bhadra, 1937.

²⁰ E.g.:

AWj 37, 1 *lagyāñudan-hudan susu sirāñiduñ akakawin añharas pipi*

(While caressing her breasts he sang *kiduñ* and *kakawin*, kissing her cheeks);

Sut 146, 15 *len tēkañ mañiduñ hana-n pakakawin*

(There were others singing *kiduñ*, and still others reciting *kakawin*).

His occupation was hunting various kinds of wild animals (2, 2). On the fourteenth day of the dark half of the seventh month he set out early in the morning to hunt (2, 3). He headed to the north-east along the ridges and was able to see down into the valleys where various features of the landscape, such as hermitages of all sorts (2, 4), a village (2, 5), rice-fields (2, 6) and a *kadewagurwan* (2, 7-9) were discernible.

Canto 3. He could also see a ruined temple-complex (*dharma*); the condition of its component parts is described (3, 1-4). Further to the north-east were gardens filled with flowers and trees, and with a stream running through (3, 5-9). The beauty of the scene in the evening is described (3, 10). The hunter continued till he could see the sea (3, 11); there was an island (3, 12) and a ship at sea which he could make out (3, 13).

Canto 4. The hunter had now reached the rugged mountains and woods where he was hoping to find game; strangely enough he encountered nothing (4, 3). Going further and further he was still unsuccessful, and sunset found him exhausted and far from home. Coming to a lake, he refreshed himself (4, 5). He was planning to pass the night there, seeing that he could not return home; moreover animals might come to drink of the water — or at least, so he hoped (4, 6).

Canto 5. When the sun went down all nature seemed to lament (5, 1-2). The hunter climbed into a *maja* tree and settled down to wait on a branch which overhung the water (5, 3), but no matter how long he waited, nothing appeared. A terrible sleepiness now assailed him, and he was afraid he would go to sleep, fall from his place and be killed by a wild animal (5, 4). He therefore sought a means of staying awake: he plucked the leaves of the *maja* tree and continually dropped them in the water. But in the midst of the lake was a natural *liṅga* of Śīwa, and this is where the leaves came to rest, although he never intended it so (5, 5). Because of his fear of falling he did not sleep the whole night through (5, 6); dawn now appeared in the sky (5, 7).

Canto 6. The beauties of nature at sunrise are described (6, 1-3).

Canto 7. Lubdhaka made ready to return home; he arrived at sunset and was greeted by his wife (7, 2), who asked what he had brought with him.

Canto 8. He explained that his trip had been in vain, and related what had befallen him (8, 1-2). His wife comforted him and they went to

bed (8, 3-4). During the night it rained, and in the morning he resumed his wonted round, enjoying himself in the family circle and indulging in sensual pleasures (8, 5-7).

Canto 9. Some years later the hunter met his end through a terrible illness. As he grew worse and worse his wife lamented, asking what would become of the children, bereaved of their father (9, 1-4). The breath of life left his body, but he had not done the smallest meritorious deed to act as a release for his soul (9, 5). His wife wept over him, wishing never to be separated from him (9, 6-9).

Canto 10. The body was wrapped up and carried away by the relatives; when it had been cremated they returned home (10, 1).

Canto 11. The soul of the hunter now found itself wandering aimlessly in the sky, where the god Śiwa caught sight of it (11, 1-2). The latter summoned the Gaṇas, who apprehensively appeared before him (11, 3-4). Śiwa now despatched them to take the hunter's soul and bring it to him (11, 5-7). The Gaṇas, however, could see no merit in him, and claimed that he should end up in hell (11, 8-10).

Canto 12. But Śiwa explained that the hunter had during his life carried out a vow which was of great excellence (12, 1); he sent the Gaṇas on their way to fetch him, with the jewelled chariot as his vehicle, and so they all came forth in order to carry out his bidding (12, 2-3).

Canto 13. The warriors rushed thundrously onward through the heavens; their generals were Nandana, Ūrdhwakeśa, Gaṇaratha and Puṣpadanta (13, 1-3).

Canto 14. Other leaders were Piṅgalākṣa, Mahodara, Wirabhadra, Somawarṇa, Reṇukarṇa and Prakarṣa; the Gaṇas crammed the sky, yelling fiercely (14, 1-3). The lord Dharma (Yama) was also despatching his troops (the Kiṅkaras) to take the evil hunter, bind him and bring him to his dwelling (14, 4-5).

Canto 15. The Kiṅkaras set out bearing fearful weapons and making a dreadful sound; their leaders were Caṇḍa, Pracāṇḍa, Kāla, Parameṣṭi-mṛtyu, Nīla, Ugrakarṇa, Citroḍumbara, Ghorawikrama, Mahācaṇḍa and Antaka (15, 1-3). They soon found the miserable hunter whom they abused and tightly bound (15, 4-6).

Canto 16. The hunter called out to his wife and children and begged

them to pay homage to those who were tormenting him, so that they might at least have a little mercy on him (16, 1-2).

Canto 17. Then he resigned himself, as there was nothing to be done for his plight; he compared himself to a tree which is tapped, etc. (17, 1-5).

Canto 18. His lamentations made no difference, as the troops of Yama had no pity and would not release him (18, 1).

Canto 19. Meanwhile the Gaṇas arrived to take him away; Mahodara challenged the Kiṅkaras' right to punish Lubdhaka (19, 2). Pracaṇḍa replied that they would not give him up, and gave orders for him to be taken to hell (19, 5). But the forces of Śīwa seized him and placed him in the jewelled chariot (19, 7); there arose a fierce fight and the Kiṅkaras were forced to retreat (19, 9). Ugrakarṇa led them back again; then Ūrdhwakeśa and Puṣpadanta led the Gaṇas forward to crush their enemies (19, 13-15).

Canto 20. Ugrakarṇa attacked Puṣpadanta but was killed (20, 2); the army of Yama withdrew, and news of Ugrakarṇa's death reached Antaka (20, 4).

Canto 21. Antaka advanced furiously with Nīla and Ghorawikrama, and the battle was resumed as before (21, 1-6). The Gaṇas were now hard pressed, and Puṣpadanta was attacked; he stood firm but was wounded in the neck and was thus forced to withdraw (21, 13).

Canto 22. As a result the Gaṇas were stricken with panic, overwhelmed and trampled underfoot (22, 1-2).

Canto 23. Ūrdhwakeśa, Wirabhadra, Prakarṣa and Reṇukarṇa led them forward again to meet the enemy, and a terrible fight arose (23, 1-5). The forces of Yama were pushed back, but Nīla managed to surround the Gaṇas and hence many were killed (23, 9).

Canto 24. Wirabhadra and Nīla were locked in combat; Nīla was killed by an arrow (24, 1-5).

Canto 25. At this the Kiṅkaras were forced back, but Antaka encouraged them and advanced fearlessly (25, 1-4). He hurled his lance at Wirabhadra, who was hit and fell (25, 6). The Gaṇas came to his aid, and Prakarṣa fought with Antaka, backed up by Ūrdhwakeśa and Reṇukarṇa (25, 10).

Canto 26. Antaka was reinforced by Pracāṇḍa, Caṇḍa, Kāla and Parameṣṭimṛtyu, and as a result the Gaṇas fled, leaving Prakarṣa alone (26, 5). But he produced a fiery arrow which burned up the enemy; Antaka responded with a wind arrow which hit Prakarṣa (26, 9).

Canto 27. Prakarṣa was aided by all the Gaṇas, and they fiercely stormed the enemy (27, 1-3).

Canto 28. The battle raged on and the Kiṅkaras were at a disadvantage until Antaka attacked Piṅgalākṣa; Pracāṇḍa's arm was ripped off (28, 4). The Kiṅkaras fired "Snake-Snare" arrows, but these were counteracted by the "Bird-King" arrow. Antaka fired the "Mass-Power" arrow, but this was swept away by the "Wind Arrow" (28, 6). The uproar made Indra fearful. Finally the Kiṅkaras were completely overwhelmed and fled to Yama's palace (28, 10).

Canto 29. The hosts of Gaṇas now speedily returned to Śiwa with Lubdhaka in the jewelled chariot. Śiwa greeted him in a friendly fashion, and informed him of the rewards he was to receive for having carried out such an excellent act of penance (29, 1-5).

Canto 30. Meanwhile the forces of Yama had come before their lord and informed him of their failure — Lubdhaka had been taken from them and conveyed to Śiwa's heaven. They had fought for him, but could not face the enemy's onslaught, and were now in a pathetic condition (30, 1-6). Yama was angry and could not understand it, as Śiwa had commissioned him to distinguish the good and evil-doers and to take the latter to throw into hell. He would resign his position (30, 9). He asked Citragupta to check in his *galih* whether Lubdhaka had indeed done any good works whereby he might escape punishment (30, 10), but nothing could be found.

Canto 31. Yama and his servants went quickly to Śiwa's abode, which was on the peak of Mt. Kailāsa; Śiwa and his spouse were seated there, and behind them sat the heavenly women (31, 1-4).

Canto 32. Each of these had her special charm, which enchanted the onlooker (32, 1-6), but Maheśwari was even more beautiful; meanwhile Yama had arrived and brought his praises at Śiwa's feet (32, 7).

Canto 33. Yama paid him homage as the supreme deity, immanent in all things, and the embodiment of all (33, 1-2).

Canto 34. Śiwa welcomed him and explained that all he wanted was

Lubdhaka, as he had performed the highest vow (34, 2). The reason why a mere hunter should come to Śīwa's heaven was that in the *ādiyuga* Śīwa had taught the vow of the Night of Śīwa, which has as a consequence that all one's evil deeds are wiped away and one goes to Śīwa's heaven to enjoy supreme bliss (34, 4). And so Lubdhaka would receive the reward, even though the observance was unintentional (34, 5). He sent Yama back to continue his work and revived all those killed on the battlefield (34, 6). Yama took leave, confessing his mistake and asking forgiveness (34, 7).

Canto 35. Śīwa was pleased to hear it; Yama left, still amazed to see that a hunter had assumed the form of a god (35, 1). The dead on the battlefield revived, imagining they were at home in bed; they returned and were received by their loved ones (35, 2-3).

Canto 36. The daughter of Girindra was interested in what Śīwa had said, and asked him concerning the rules for observance of the vow of the Night of Śīwa, as she wished to perform it (36, 2).

Canto 37. During the preceding day certain preparations are required (37, 1); the *liṅga* of Śīwa is worshipped for the whole night (37, 2). Certain flowers are necessary for worship (37, 3), as well as offerings of food (37, 4). In order to stay awake one may play music, read, etc., but it is best to relate the story of the soul of the hunter (37, 5). Next day certain gifts are called for (37, 6). This vow has greater effect than any other kind of observance, and no matter what one's sins have been one still enjoys the benefit of it (37, 7-9). This was occasion for all the deities to leave to practise the vow.

Canto 38. This is the end of the story written by Tanakuṇ — even though it has many shortcomings, may it still be a means of achieving release (38, 1-2).

Canto 39. The poet is in a disturbed frame of mind, having been away so long (39, 1).

3. The author — Other works

The name of the poet occurs at the end of his poem, where he points out how poor his work is:

antuk niṇ karvi tan tamēṇ kalēṇēṇian macihna Tanakuṇ (38, 1c).

"It is the work of a poet not accomplished in poetic arts, who bears the name of Tanakuṇ."

This is not the only extant work bearing the name of Tanakuñ, although it is the longest and probably his best. The others are Wṛttasañcaya, Udyalāka and a number of short lyrical poems.

As far as is possible to judge from stylistic considerations, it seems likely that WS¹ is indeed the work of the same author. An identity of names need not necessarily mean an identity of author — and the language of *kakawin* shows a remarkable sameness from work to work. Even so ŚR and WS have so many expressions (in the description of scenery) and grammatical peculiarities in common that there is little doubt in our minds that they were indeed both written by the same author. Moreover WS is also didactic, having as its aim instruction in the use of metres.

With Udyalāka,² however, the matter is otherwise. The vocabulary seems different, the metres are full of mistakes which seem to be the fault of the poet and not due to careless copying (whereas ŚR and WS are comparatively good in this respect). Furthermore the poet's name is mentioned in a separate line after the text, rather than in the body of the text. This *kakawin* is only seven cantos long and the story is naive. On the other hand, the subject-matter is also didactic, being about the position of woman and her duty to serve her husband. We are therefore uncertain whether this poem really is by Tanakuñ or not. One might surmise that he wrote it as an exercise during his student days and that it was preserved by some accident of history, or it may be that it was written in Bali years later and for some reason traditionally ascribed to Tanakuñ.

In the same way as Udyalāka, the lyrical poems³ ascribed to Tanakuñ are available in Leiden only in the form of a transliteration of a MS belonging to the Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk in Singaradja, North Bali. On superficial inspection it seems not impossible that Tanakuñ was indeed the author; however, among the poems are some ascribed to Nirartha.⁴

A few words, in conclusion, about the name of the author. The name Tanakuñ derives from *tan akuñ*, *tan* meaning "not", and *akuñ* being a regular derivation from the word *kuñ* with the prefix *a-*. *Kuñ* means "sexual love", "pangs of love", "amorous yearning" — like the

¹ Ed. Kern, 1875.

² Cod. Or. 10.130; see Pigeaud, 1967, p. 189.

³ Cod. Or. CB 153; see Pigeaud, 1967, p. 193.

⁴ On Nirartha see below.

Sanskrit word *rāga*. The derivation *akuṇi* is a common one and means “enamoured”, “filled with amorous desire”. In more recent texts (*kiduṇ*) it means “young and attractive”, with special reference to men. Hence *tan akuṇ* means “without amorousness”, “without passion”, “indifferent”. It is close to the Sanskrit *wirakta*. Clearly it is a fitting pen-name for a poet who, in his own words, strives to attain a state of passionlessness or indifference.

It is interesting to note in this connection that at least two other Old Javanese poets had similar negative names, namely Tantular and Nirartha. Tantular is the author of Sutasoma and Arjunawijaya, and lived in the mid-fourteenth century. His name means “unswerving”, “unchangeable”, “immovable” according to Zoetmulder’s lexicographical material.⁵ This too is a very appropriate name for an Old Javanese poet to whom poetry is a way of yoga, a means of achieving liberation.

Nirartha is believed to have lived in the sixteenth century, and plays an important part in the Balinese literary tradition.⁶ The usual meaning of the word is “destitute”, “meaningless”, “vain”. In meaning this name is reminiscent of that of the author of Nāgarakṛtāgama, Prapañca, which in Old Javanese almost always means “confused”, “perplexed”, “bewildered”.

Apparently these two names stress the state of confusion preceding the correct application of yoga, rather than the result obtained by yoga.

However, the problem of Javanese poets’ names deserves separate discussion in a wider context. At the moment we shall not be able to go into it any further.

4. The dating of Śiwarātrikalpa

Leaving aside criteria of language for the time being, one can try to seek other data through which to establish the period in which Tanakuṇ lived and wrote, and in which ŚR was composed. Actually Zoetmulder, in a paper which he read at the Indonesian National Science Congress in 1962, discussed the dating of our text. His paper is added to this Introduction as an Appendix, to which we refer. As will be seen from Zoetmulder’s contribution, his main argument for ascribing our text

⁵ See, for example, RY 24, 16: *dydha tan tular aṇṇa-aṇṇya taṇ cala*, “firm, constant was his mind, unbending”; see also RY 21, 183 and 8, 101.

⁶ Berg, 1927, pp. 18-28; Poerbatjaraka, 1951, p. 202-206, assigns him to the previous century.

to the fifteenth century is his identification of *Śry Ādi-Suraprabhāwa sira bhūpati saphala Girindrawaṇśaja*, i.e. "Śrī Ādisuraprabhāwa, a king who is worthy to be a scion of the line of Girindra", from the *maṅgala* of our text with king Sinhawikramawardhana dyah Suraprabhāwa, who issued the inscription of Pamintihan on 14th May, 1473.¹ Zoetmulder's conclusion seems to us to be beyond reasonable doubt, and it seems worthwhile to follow up his argument with some data from other historical sources.

We look first to the inscription of Warinin Pitu (Suradakan), which was issued on 22nd November, 1447, by Wijayaparākramawardhana (dyah Kṛtawijaya), king of Majapahit.² A ruler called Kṛtawijaya is also known from the Pararaton, which also calls him Bhre Tumapël. The Pararaton mentions that he ruled between Ś. 1369 and 1373 (A.D. 1447-1451). He was buried in Kṛtawijayapura.³ Thus it is not impossible that this is the king who issued the inscription of Warinin Pitu in 1447, at the beginning of his reign — perhaps to mark his accession to the throne. The importance of this inscription is evident: under the king are mentioned fourteen other personages, each associated with one of the districts which went to make up East Java.⁴ This illustrates admirably the nature of the Javanese "realm", which has been described elsewhere.⁵ East Java was not a unitary kingdom at all, but an assemblage of miniature kingdoms under the hegemony of the strongest among them. This nature is seen most clearly at times in Javanese history when there was no one kingdom exerting a strong authority over the others, as, for example, when Senapati came to power in Mataram.⁶

Among the rulers under the hegemony of Majapahit attention should be drawn in particular to two of those mentioned in the inscription. These are the king of Kahuripan, Rājasawardhana (dyah Wijaya-kumāra), and the king of Tumapël, Sinhawikramawardhana (dyah Suraprabhāwa).

The Pararaton lists a number of children of Bhre Tumapël (Kṛtawijaya), namely: Bhre Wënkër II (m.), Bhre Paguhan II (m.), Bhre Jagaraga I (f.), Bhre Tañjuṇpura (f.), Bhre Pajan II (f.), and Bhre

¹ Damais, 1952, p. 81.

² Ibid.

³ Parar. ed. Brandes, 1920, p. 40 & 197.

⁴ Jaarboek, 1938, pp. 117-19.

⁵ Schrieke, 1957; Van Naerssen has also repeatedly pointed to this feature, most recently in a paper read at the Congress of Orientalists in Ann Arbor, Mich., 1967.

⁶ See, for example, *Babad Tanah Djawi*, ed. Olthof, 1941 (Jav. text), p. 99 ff.

Kēliṅ (m.).⁷ With the exception of Bhre Paguhan (II), the inscription mentions persons bearing all of these titles among the fourteen rulers under the hegemony of Majapahit, and moreover their sexes as indicated in the inscription tally with those deduced from the text of the Pararaton. Beyond this, however, the picture is confused; for example, no Bhre Tumapēl (or Suraprabhāwa) occurs here in the Pararaton tradition, but then he is supposed to have been the youngest son.

According to the Pararaton, Bhre Tumapēl (Kṛtawijaya) was succeeded by a Bhre Pamotan, who ruled as king Rājasawardhana in Kahuripan ś. 1373-75 (A.D. 1451-53).⁸ This figure, as was observed above, occurs in the inscription of Warinin Pitu. From this it is not possible to establish his relationship to his predecessor. Next an interregnum is recorded ś. 1375-78 (A.D. 1453-56), when there was apparently no overlord.⁹ According to the Pararaton the next king was a certain Bhre Wēnkēr, who became king as Bhra Hyaṅ Purwawiseṣa and ruled ś. 1378-88 (A.D. 1456-66).¹⁰ During the reign of this king the Chinese record the arrival of an embassy from the king of Tu-ma-pan (1460).¹¹ The above name is different from that of the ruler of Wēnkēr mentioned in the inscription, i.e. Giriśawardhana (dyah Suryawikrama); perhaps the latter had disappeared during the interval since 1447. The Pararaton records that in ś. 1388 (A.D. 1466) a Bhre Paṇḍan Salas became king in Tumapēl.¹²

It is interesting to note that these rulers are not described by the Pararaton as being kings in or of Majapahit: Rājasawardhana was king in Kahuripan, Purwawiseṣa perhaps in Tumapēl, and Bhre Paṇḍan Salas in Tumapēl. We are forced to draw the conclusion that the hegemony had now passed from Majapahit itself, and was in dispute among the various divisions of the East Javanese realm. The existence of an interregnum would seem to suggest that the position was in doubt for a time; after that the hegemony over East Java appears definitely to have been taken by Tumapēl.

This leads us to consider again the inscription of Pamintihan (Sēṇḍai Sēdati), which was issued on 14th May, 1473, by king Siṅhawikramawardhana (dyah Suraprabhāwa). He is described as the supreme overlord (*śrī mahārājadhīrāja prajāikanātha*) of the whole of the land

⁷ Parar. p. 38 ll. 8-14, p. 150.

⁸ Parar. p. 40 ll. 13-15, p. 199.

⁹ Parar. p. 40 l. 16, p. 199.

¹⁰ Parar. p. 40 ll. 17-18, p. 199.

¹¹ Krom, 1931, p. 448.

¹² Parar. p. 40 ll. 23-24, p. 200.

of Java, made up of its two parts, Jaŋgala and Kaḍiri; but it is not said where the capital is located.¹³ This is then the Suraprabhāwa of the Warinīn Pitu inscription who now, however, has achieved the position of sovereign — whether through the normal processes of succession or by conquest we cannot tell. The inscription of Pamintihan concerns the exemption from taxes of an estate which lay in the area of Bojonegoro and which can be pinpointed with some accuracy.¹⁴

We assume that Suraprabhāwa can be identified with the Bhre Paṇḍan Salas who, according to the Pararaton, became king in Tumapël in 1466. This was the conclusion drawn by Krom.¹⁵ If it is valid, then he must have been ruling in 1473, when the inscription was issued. The Pararaton, however, has the following to say of this king:

Bhre Paṇḍan Salas añjēnēn in Tumapël, anuli prabhu i śaka brahmana-naga-kaya-tuŋgal, 1388, prabhu roṇ tahun. Tumuli sah sakiṇ kaḍaton. This is translated by Brandes as:

"Bhre Paṇḍan salas, te Tumapel, wordt daarop koning (*prabhu*), in Çaka 1388. Hij was twee jaren koning. Daarop verliet hij de *kraton*." ¹⁶

He notes that twelve years would make better sense than two in view of what follows, namely that the king died in Ś. 1400. But this alteration is not necessary; the text could also be read: "... 1388. *Prabhu roṇ tahun, tumuli sah sakiṇ kaḍaton.*" ("After he had been king for two years, he left the *kraton*.") We conclude that this does not indicate the death of the king, but that for some reason he either temporarily left the *kraton*, or moved to another residence.

The next sentence of the Pararaton is also puzzling:

Putranira saṇ Sinagara, bhre Koripan, bhre Mataram, bhre Pamotan, pamuṇsu bhre Kṛtabhūmi, kapērnah paman, bhre prabhu saṇ mokta riṇ kaḍaton i śaka śunya-nora-yuganiṇ-woṇ, 1400.

Here again we propose another translation to that of Brandes, namely: "The children of Sinagara (= Rajasawardhana) were Bhre Koripan, Bhre Mataram, Bhre Pamotan and the youngest was Bhre Kṛtabhūmi; he (i.e. Sinagara) was an uncle of the king, who died in the *kraton* in Ś. 1400 (A.D. 1478)." Brandes takes it that Kṛtabhūmi was the uncle.

¹³ O.V., 1922, p. 25, *Transcriptie*, side 1a.

¹⁴ O.V., 1922, pp. 22-23; see also Noorduyn, 1968, pp. 460-481.

¹⁵ Krom, 1931, p. 448.

¹⁶ Parar. p. 40 ll. 23-24, p. 200.

If our reading is correct, it would imply that Rājasawardhana was a brother (presumably of lower rank) of Kṛtawijaya (Suraprabhāwa's father), and that Suraprabhāwa (Bhre Paṇḍan Salas of the Pararaton) was the king who died in 1478. The position, however, is far from clear, owing to the terseness of the information given us in this part of the Pararaton.

We see thus good reason to identify Suraprabhāwa, who was ruling in 1473, with Bhre Paṇḍan Salas, who became king in Tumapël (= Singasari) in 1466 and probably ruled for twelve years, with some kind of disturbance or move occurring in 1468. He had definitely been succeeded by 1486, when Raṇawijaya was on the throne, as we learn from the inscription of Pētak.¹⁷ The promulgation of a decree, recorded in an inscription, indicates a reasonable degree of power on the part of the issuing king, and so we can assume that royal authority was still respected and that the traditions were maintained. Hindu Java was not in a state of complete dislocation; that is, activities such as literary composition were not ruled out. It seems that the study and practice of Old Javanese literature went through a late flowering in Java in the later decades of the 15th century, and that the poem under discussion in this book, Śīwarātrikalpa, must be placed some time between 1466 and 1478.

To supplement the data derived from inscriptions and the Pararaton, we may also call in the evidence of the subject-matter of ŚR for assistance in establishing its period. As is already visible from the title, the poem deals with Śivaite rites. It is centred around the doctrine and practice of the Night of Śiwa, which is still known in Bali but apparently not from earlier Javanese sources. This is an important point, because Krom, when discussing the *archaeological* evidence from Java of the late 15th century, draws the conclusion that: "Het Hindoeïsme beteekent dan uitsluitend Āiwaïsme; van Buddhisme bij deze late vestigingen nergens een spoor."¹⁸ (Hinduism means, then, Śivaism and nothing else; among these late foundations there is nowhere a trace of Buddhism). If this is correct, it would lend useful corroboration to our assignment of ŚR to the late 15th century.

As with a great deal of Hindu-Javanese history, it is extremely difficult to establish here any really firm facts because of the scarcity of primary sources. The above discussion may serve, though, to throw a little light on the period.

¹⁷ Damais, 1952, p. 81.

¹⁸ Krom, 1931, p. 444.

5. *Śīwarātri from India to Bali*

The fact that the date to be ascribed to this text seems to be relatively recent gives it a special importance for Indonesian cultural history, as this dating places it in the latter days of Majapahit. The larger realm had disintegrated as a political unit and had probably broken up into a number of small princedoms. Although these may periodically have acknowledged the nominal overlordship of one particular ruler, such a mid-fifteenth century Javanese suzerain was certainly no more than a *primus inter pares*. Furthermore, these were also days of religious change. In the coastal ports Islam had definitely gained a firm hold some time before this, while the Islamization of the interior was probably proceeding as well. It seems that of the ancient Indian religions Buddhism, which (though in a syncretistic form containing a mixture of autochthonous and Hindu elements as well) played a major role during the heyday of Majapahit, had faded into the background. As we observed above, there is a predominance of Śivaite material in the archaeological remains of this period, although we should observe caution in attaching such labels in this case too. A situation as is well-known from modern Bali, with "Shivaism" and "Buddhism" integrated into an *agama Bali*, may have existed in 15th century Java as well.

The appearance of a poet such as Tanakuṇ at this particular juncture throws a special light on the information obtained elsewhere about the political, cultural and religious situation in Java. His literary activity as we know it seems to indicate that in the latter days of Majapahit and of the Hindu-Javanese period there were still frequent relations between India and Java. This is seen in the first place from the fact that he composed a work such as *Wṛttasañcaya*, a textbook on poetics which must have been based on first-hand knowledge of Indian sources, although this does not necessarily imply that the author possessed a perfect grammatical knowledge of Sanskrit. Nevertheless it can hardly be supposed that anyone would write such a work, complete with acknowledgement of the Indian source, without being directly stimulated by a personal contact with the sources.

This evidence is strongly supported by the fact that the selfsame Tanakuṇ also composed a text such as *Śīwarātrikalpa* introducing into Java a Śivaite ritual which was very well-known in India, but which is not encountered in earlier Javanese sources. And even if it had been previously known in Indonesia, Tanakuṇ apparently deemed it necessary to draw the attention of Indonesian Śiva worshippers to it again with

great emphasis. Such missionary zeal is imaginable only if the writer had received direct inspiration in some way or other. Where else could we expect him to find such inspiration but in India itself? It seems possible, moreover, to come closer to the source of this inspiration than has hitherto often been possible in the study of Old Javanese literature. For in the middle of the 15th century there was only one place in the whole of India which could have acted as a centre of dissemination of Śivaism, namely the realm of Vijayanagara in southern India. There Śivaism flourished; there too there was a kingdom which politically as well as culturally was an international centre with extensive overseas relations. In view of the dating of Tanakuṇ's work discussed above, our attention is drawn in the first place by the rule of king Devarāya II. There is some uncertainty as to his precise dates, but he probably ruled in the period from 1426 to 1446.¹ The sources mention not only that there was great prosperity in the realm itself during that period, but also emphasize this king's foreign relations and dependencies. Fernao Nuniz's chronicle says that "in his time the King of Coullao (Quilon or Kollam) and Ceylao (Ceylon), and Paleacate (Pulicat), and Peguu, and Tanaçary (Tenasserim), and many other countries, paid tribute to him".²

The cultural revival which this kingdom experienced as a strong bulwark in South India against a steadily encroaching Islam is striking. In this respect the second period of revival under king Kṛṣṇadevarāya (± 1520) is perhaps even more important than the first; but under Devarāya too literature, architecture and sculpture flourished.³ Old travel descriptions in which eye-witnesses relate their observations and experiences are extremely interesting in this respect; those of Nicolo Conti⁴ and Abdur Razzāk⁵ date back to Devarāya's reign. Speaking of religion, R.C. Majumdar observes: "The rise of Vijayanagara gave a great impetus to Śaivism. The early kings of Vijayanagara were ardent Śaivas." And although it is true that in the fifteenth century Vaishṇavism began to play an important role as well, the rulers "were not bigoted Vaishnavas; and Śiva still had a share in their devotion. Narasiṃha, for instance, though a Vaishṇava, *observed the Śivarātri*, and wrote a grant on that day in A.D. 1466."⁶

¹ K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, 1955, p. 258 ff.

² Robert Sewell, 1924, p. 302. See also Krishna Sastri, 1907-08.

³ See *The Oxford History of India*, 1958, p. 316; *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960, p. 464 ff., 726 ff.

⁴ Sewell, 1924, p. 81-96.

⁵ Sewell, 1924, p. 72 ff.

⁶ *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960, p. 556.

From other sources too the observance of the Śīvarātri ritual as part of the Śīva worship of this period is well known. Saletore, for example, mentions an inscription of the year 1419 concerning temple endowments, written "at the meritorious time of *Śīvarātri*,"⁷ and sixteenth century inscriptions also show how this ritual was performed in Vijayanagara.⁸ An interesting inscription in this respect, written partly in Telugu and partly in Sanskrit, mentions that it was written by the poet Śrīnātha on the occasion of a grant on the holy Śīvarātri — and, as the inscription itself says, "why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?"⁹

Śrīnātha is a very well-known figure who brings us back to the reign of king Devarāya II.¹⁰ Chenchiah and Raja Bhujanga Rao give A.D. 1365-1440 as the dates for Śrīnātha in their book on Telugu literature;¹¹ he is described as an outstanding expert on Sanskrit and Telugu literature and a creative genius. He is the author of a *Śīvarātrimāhātmya* in Telugu, in which he tells how on a visit to the sacred shrine of Śrīsaīla during the Śīvarātri festival he was invited to write a Śaiva poem.¹²

In addition to his *Śīvarātrimāhātmya* he wrote or translated all kinds of other books in a markedly Śivaitic vein; to name a few: the *Bhīmeśvarapurāṇam* and *Kāśikhaṇḍam*, "dealing with the kshetras or holy places connected with Śaiva worship. His *Haravilāsa* deals with the various stories connected with Śīva."¹³ He wrote a book on poetics called *Śṛṅgāra Dīpaka*, worshipped Sarasvatī as his patroness,¹⁴ and "had the unique honour of *Kanakābhishheka* at the hands of Devarāya II of Vijayanagara in his court."¹⁵ "He happened to be the dominating personality in the literary field during that time."

⁷ Saletore, 1934, vol. II, pp. 404 and 255.

⁸ Saletore, II, p. 405 (A.D. 1548), p. 21 (A.D. 1590), p. 275 (A.D. 1529), p. 372 (A.D. 1495). To avoid misunderstanding we wish to point out that references to the Śīvarātri ritual are found in other, earlier inscriptions as well, such as those issued under the Cola kings, e.g. Vikrama Chola ± 1125 (Ranga-charya, 1919, I p. 573, no. 490), and later; and in Gujarat under king Sāraṅgadeva, A.D. 1287 (*Epigraphia Indica* I, 1892, p. 279).

⁹ *Epigraphia Indica*, 21, 1931-32, p. 271.

¹⁰ The dating of the inscription mentioned in the previous note, i.e. Śaka 1257 = A.D. 1335, does not tally with the data supplied here. Peda Komati Vema, the king who had the inscription issued, ruled in the beginning of the 15th century. (*The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960, p. 286).

¹¹ Chenchiah — R.B. Rao, 1928, pp. 59-62.

¹² *Epigraphia Indica*, 21, 1931-32, p. 271.

¹³ *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960, p. 527.

¹⁴ Chenchiah — R.B. Rao, 1928, p. 25.

¹⁵ *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1960, p. 527.

In the light of the above, then, it is quite probable that we are very close to the source of inspiration of our Śīwarātrikalpa. Would the hypothesis that our poet Tanakuṇ went and sought inspiration at this Indian source be too speculative? The data at our disposal are not sufficient to prove this, but one might at least venture the theory that even as late as the fifteenth century this Javanese poet paid a personal visit to India in order to extend and deepen his knowledge of Indian culture and religion, and come back full of inspiration for religious and cultural renewal in his own country in the same way as earlier colleagues, priests, poets or politicians, went to India on a pilgrimage, on study leave, or for "post-graduate training". The present writers are not able, owing to the absence of sources or factual knowledge, to follow this trail any further. But it is hoped that experts on the fifteenth century Sanskrit and Telugu literature of Vijayanagara will be able to arrive at more definite conclusions on the basis of the above.

The hypothesis that the author of ŚR somehow found his inspiration in 15th century Vijayanagara may not only put us on the track of the source of a particular Old Javanese text, but has some more general aspects and implications as well. It may be useful to point out briefly some of these more general aspects. The hypothesis implies in the first place that the Javanese student visiting India was inspired principally by the current religious and cultural situation which he encountered in that country. This may seem to be rather obvious, but in the past scholars, certainly Dutch scholars of Old Javanese, who because of their training were especially familiar with ancient, classical India, may have concentrated too much on what ancient India was able to furnish in the way of material and sources, and reflected too little on the living cultures and literature of a later India as a possible source of inspiration for Old Javanese culture. In order to further the study of Old Javanese and especially of more recent East Javanese history it will be necessary to investigate the contemporary situation in India; the implication is that South India in particular is worthy of the attention of scholars of Old Javanese. Realms and dynasties such as those of the later Chālukyas, Yādavas, Hoysālas, Chōlas and the later Pāṇḍyas will have to be explored together with the realm of Vijayanagara at present under discussion, as a likely source of inspiration for East Javanese culture.

Another implication of the above concerns the chronology of religious influences from India on Java in particular and on Indonesia in general. The obvious idea of Islam succeeding Hinduism is only feasible in part. At the time of Malacca's rise as a Muslim sultanate, when

the propagation of Islam must have been making progress in Java as well, we see Tanakuñ still finding inspiration, possibly in India itself, for new forms of Hinduism; he may even have visited Malacca on such a journey to India. It is obvious therefore that the process of Islamization far from excludes a new wave of Hinduism; on the contrary, both religions side by side were giving Java new impulses until well into the fifteenth century — just as in South India itself these two religions were active at the same time and, one may surmise, just as in Malacca, even though officially an Islamic sultanate, Hinduism in one form or another was professed at least by the Indian and Javanese colonies there.

We mentioned Malacca on purpose, for it is clear that Malacca itself must have maintained direct relations with Vijayanagara, and that these were not only of a commercial nature. A text such as the *Sejarah Melayu*, which is in fact a Malay cultural history of the sultanate of Malacca, has knowledge of these relations with Vijayanagara. The study of that kingdom, which at least periodically played such a dominant role in South India, is of great importance not only for the study of Old Javanese culture, but for the study of Indonesian cultural history between 1300 and 1550 as a whole. This is also convincingly demonstrated by the Malay *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, the legendary story of the ideal Malay servant of the king of Malacca.¹⁶ In this text we find the story of a visit paid by Hang Tuah to the kingdom of Vijayanagara during the reign of king Kṛṣṇadevarāya or Krisnarayan as he is called. We cannot go into the implication and details of this story, but it again proves the importance of the relations between Vijayanagara and Indonesia. Further research in this area obviously requires co-operation and exchange of materials between scholars in the different fields. The recent translation into Tamil of the *Sejarah Melayu* is an important step in this connection; considerably more Javanese and Malay literature which is relevant to the period under discussion will have to be made similarly accessible.

As we said above there is no other source which supplies information on the Śiwarātri observance in ancient Java. There is an abundance of data on Śivaism and śiva worship, both relating to the early Central Javanese and to the later East Javanese cultural period; but nowhere is this special ritual mentioned — at least as far as we know at present — even though there are earlier references to it in India. No references

¹⁶ On this work see Teeuw, 1960.

to the Śīwarātri ritual are found in texts such as the *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* or the *Korawāśrama* either, even though chronologically these do not seem to be far removed from Śīwarātrikalpa and although Śīva worship plays an important role in them; the only reference in Van der Tuuk, apart from those to our text, is 'sewalatri', with the derived form *njèwalatri*, 'to fast by not sleeping and only partaking of milk of a white cow on the full moon of the fourth month' (sic!), evidently a modern Balinese form.¹⁷ Nor is there a single indication in either early or late Javanese inscriptions pointing to the observance of the Night of Śīva. Similarly, despite intensive research, no Javanese reliefs depicting the story of the hunter Lubdhaka have as yet been positively identified.

All in all it is evident, therefore, that the Śīwarātri ritual did not play an important role in Java before Tanakuñ's time, and may not have been known or observed at all. On the other hand the information we have from Bali shows that the voice of Tanakuñ was not exactly a voice in the wilderness. The Śīwarātri ritual somehow reached Bali — this has been an established fact since the publication of Hooykaas' important study on the subject.¹⁸ As far as the observance of Śīwarātri in India is concerned, Hooykaas only refers to an old publication of the Sanskritist H. H. Wilson.¹⁹ For Old Javanese he only quotes the three final stanzas of Lubdhaka as these appear in Brandes' catalogue.²⁰ But he follows this up with a detailed discussion of the data on the observance of Śīwarātri in Bali which he collected from Balinese texts and from oral information given by Śaivite priests. Evidently on this island observance of the rite is a prerogative of royalty, provided they themselves have been consecrated as priests, perhaps contrary to what Tanakuñ's story leads us to believe.

There are all kinds of regulations governing the celebration of this ritual; these are laid down in various texts edited, translated and annotated by Hooykaas. These can be divided into two different categories, viz. hymns, formulas, and so on, which can or should be used at the Śīwarātri celebration without being confined exclusively to that festival, and texts giving specific instructions for the observance of the Śīwarātri; as far as the latter are concerned we would especially refer to Kirtya manuscripts nos. 1875 (Aji-Brata), 2219 (Surya-Sewana) and

¹⁷ T 3, 223.

¹⁸ Hooykaas, 1964, pp. 191-236.

¹⁹ H. H. Wilson, 1862, pp. 210-221.

²⁰ Brandes, 1903, p. 127.

1441 (Kalēpasan) and to Leiden manuscript no. 5429.²¹ It is obvious that these texts, which specifically deal with the Balinese Śīwarātri ritual, are the ones most relevant to the problem as to whether Tanakun's Śīwarātrikalpa is the only link between Indian rituals and Balinese observances on the fourteenth day of the lunar month Māgha or Phalguṇa, or whether other sources must at some time have been available to the Balinese priests who wrote these texts.

It is difficult to reach any definite conclusions on this point. Clearly in places the description of the ritual as given in the Balinese texts very closely approaches the text of the *kakawin*. This is especially true of the part of the Aji-Brata quoted by Hooykaas as lines 1-85. The list of flowers given there, as well as the order in which they are mentioned, is practically identical with ŚR 37, 3: *mēnur, kañiri, gambir, kacubun, waduri putih, putat, anśoka, sari tangguli, tañjun, kalak, campaka, tuñjun biru, tuñjun bañ, tuñjun putih, sulasih mrik* (lines 48-63). The list of offerings (1.7-10) also very closely resembles ŚR 37, 4a-b: *bubur pēhan, bubur gula, winoran tahak wilis, muan dagin in sarwasuci, muan sarwawawani pinakadhupa*. It is even possible to interpret the obvious error in the Balinese text, *Gurugraha* in line 70, as a misreading of *gurugrēha* in ŚR 37, 1a. The differences between this part of the Aji-Brata and ŚR 37, 1-5 can easily be explained as being a local Balinese development from and adaptation of the prescriptions as found in ŚR, as they contain little that is not known from other descriptions of Balinese Śīvaitic rituals. The other texts rendered by Hooykaas stress the *mantra* and *stava* to be recited on the occasion of the Śīwarātri; as these are not specified in the Old Javanese text it is impossible to establish a direct link between these texts and our *kakawin* in this respect. On the one hand, it should be observed that these *mantra* and the prescriptions with regard to their recitation need not necessarily point to an independent Indian origin, as they fit in well with this kind of text as generally known from Bali.

On the other hand we know that in India very detailed prescriptions have existed with regard to the observance of Śīwarātri. Just how old this specific Śīwarātri observance is in India is not clear from the sources available to the present authors, but there is no doubt that there is a long and variegated tradition in this respect, which is very much alive at the present day, to witness the modern printed texts dealing with this festival and its meaning and observance. The very

²¹ Hooykaas, 1964, p. 207.

valuable survey which was given by Kane²² on the various, sometimes conflicting procedures prescribed for the Śivarātrivrata by various authorities, mainly medieval, makes clear how prominent this ritual has been in certain periods of Hinduism; it also guarantees that further research in this field will prove profitable for students of Balinese religion. A definite conclusion as to whether more specific influences besides Tanakun's *kakawin* have been at work, directly or indirectly, in the perpetuation of the Śivarātri ritual in Bali will have to wait for the results of such research.²³

6. *The language of the text*

The language in which Śīwarātrikalpa is written was earlier in this Introduction called Old Javanese. Old Javanese is the language in which literature was produced in Hindu Java, over the period of (at the most) A.D. 850-1500. This literature includes, for example, the (prose) *parwa*, the *kakawin*, inscriptions and a number of technical treatises. As can be expected, over such a long period of time both the language and literary forms gradually display changes and innovations. The term Middle Javanese has come to be used for a later or different stage of literary Javanese as we find it especially in certain types of works such as, for example, the *kidun* and certain prose works. However, it should be noted that neither is there a clear succession in time of an Old and a Middle Javanese period, nor did either of the two periods come to an end when the so-called Hindu-Javanese era came to an end. For a long time, and especially in the period between the conquest of Bali by Majapahit in 1343 and the rise of Muslim states in Java in the 16th century, Hindu-Javanese civilization had been firmly established in the island of Bali; not only was Old Javanese literature preserved in Bali, but new literature on the old models continued to be written there. Besides, in Modern Javanese literature, that is, the literature produced at the courts of the Central Javanese kingdoms, old forms and literary traditions have to some extent been

²² Kane, 1958, pp. 225-276. One interesting detail in which some Indian prescriptions agree with the Balinese texts is the number of 108 bael leaves to be dropped in the holy water. This number is not mentioned in the *kakawin*. It is, however, so common in rituals of this kind that in isolation it cannot be taken as proof of a direct link.

²³ A detailed survey of the ritual as prescribed by Śīwa himself at the end of the *kakawin* will be given below (pp. 54-57).

preserved; for example, the poetical style called *kawi*, in which works were written in Surakarta, contains much vocabulary of an archaic nature.

We are concerned in particular here with the language of *kakawin*. In considering the language of ŚR, a late *kakawin*, we should take into account the relationship of this to the spoken idiom of the time. The question was discussed by Van Stein Callenfels in 1925. This scholar stressed the fact that the Old Javanese which we know from inscriptions and *kakawin* is an artificial language, that is, a literary language which was by no means identical with the spoken language of the time. He also pointed out that "The prose works from ancient times already stand much closer to the so-called Middle Javanese . . . (and) every now and again, both in inscriptions and in poetry, the living language suddenly penetrates the shell of artificiality." He formulated his conclusion as follows: "We assume that Middle Javanese was the dominant language during the whole Majapahit period, and was perhaps in use before that time." He added that it would not be surprising if on further investigation it were found that the language which we call Middle Javanese was, for example, the current one in Java already at the end of the 10th Śaka century (i.e. A.D. 1078).¹

There can be little doubt that Van Stein Callenfels made an important point here. Even though the situation may have been more complicated than he suggests, especially with regard to dialect differences, and even though it should be noted that the Middle Javanese dialect itself (especially as we know it from the *kidun*) very soon, perhaps already in the Majapahit period, developed into a literary idiom, it remains true that the language of the *kakawin* was a comparatively static one. He calls it artificial, not only in its use of unusual vocabulary and "flowery" expressions, but also in the fact that it was limited to the precedents of earlier authors and hence was fixed for all succeeding generations. As in India with the *kāvya* literature, in Java too originality does not seem to have been greatly admired, but rather the ability to imitate and to adapt the language and style of the great poets of the past. This means that the poetic language underwent comparatively little development over the period during which the art was actively practised in East Java, that is, to the best of our knowledge, a period of about six centuries. One cannot say that it underwent *no* change. The language of the earliest *kakawin* (Rāmāyaṇa) in a number of aspects is remarkably different from that of the later, East Javanese

¹ Van Stein Callenfels, 1925, pp. 153-155.

kakawin, and even within the East Javanese period, if one compares older texts like *Arjunawiwāha* and *Bhāratayuddha* with later ones (e.g. ŚR or WS), there are gradual changes in the use of certain grammatical forms, and shifts in meaning in some words; one also observes loss of skill at handling the metres, and less striking poetical effects. It seems hardly possible to deny that in general there was a gradual decline in poetic achievement during the East Javanese period, even though it is very dangerous to use this general phenomenon for the dating and evaluation of specific texts. At a relatively late stage there may have been poets who by their own creativity or by new impulses from India may have succeeded in bringing about some kind of innovation or revival in the genre. Bad quality of poetry or poor use of language is no absolute proof of a late date; nor is the reverse necessarily true!

Moreover, as Van Stein Callenfels rightly observed, in early texts later linguistic phenomena may be found, which have either crept in as a result of inadvertence of the poet or have been introduced for the sake of stylistic variation. As an early example of such a phenomenon we quote a form which occurs in *Hariwaṇśa* (from the reign of Jayabhaya, ± A.D. 1160) 12, 1b: *yeka liṇe harūm* ... Here the sudden appearance of the ending *-e* in place of the usual *-nya* seems to suggest that both the shift of *ya* to *e* and the change in the morphophonemic rules (OJ *-nya*; and *-ya* only when the basic morpheme ends in *-n*: *liṇ-nya* but *paran-ya*; Mod. J. *-é*, but *-né* when the basic morpheme ends in a vowel: *wukir-é*, but *guru-né*) had already taken place and were in the back of the poet's mind, so that the modern form could slip into his work, or be used on purpose whenever he needed it.

We come now to the question of what, if any, are the stylistic and linguistic peculiarities of ŚR. First of all it should be stated that especially in view of the late date suggested in a previous section, its language is remarkably loyal to the *kakawin* tradition. And even if there are several points which deserve our closer attention because they may betray the characteristics of the later language, we still have to be very careful in drawing general conclusions from such incidental details. For one thing, we should not omit to consider the possibility that deviations from standard poetical language may reflect a change in metrical conventions rather than a linguistic change, and if there is a linguistic difference we will still in many cases not be able to decide whether we have a conscious stylistic deviation or a slip of the pen. A good case to observe a real change in conventions is formed

by the variation between *wa* and *o*. Even in really old texts we find a restricted number of words in which *wa* and *o* are apparently interchangeable, such as, for example, *kwan* and *kon*. But in most cases it seems as if the contraction of *wa* to *o* is an indication of a later linguistic usage. In our text there occur cases like *hayo*, where older texts regularly have *haywa* "do not", e.g. 34, 2b and 37, 6cd; *binotan*, from *bot* which in older texts is always *bwat*, 23, 8c. This text gives yet another indication that the traditional rules had changed in the direction of the *kiduñ* and modern Javanese poetry, where *wa* and *o* are in practically all cases interchangeable: it uses a few times *panwan* instead of the regular *panon*, 4, 5b. This reverse change is indeed a strong indication that the old norms which only sporadically permitted poetic license had shifted to much more general and permissive rules. Needless to say, all this does not give us any definite clue as to when in spoken Javanese the change *wa* > *o* had been completed. This shift may have taken place many centuries earlier.

In other cases it is more difficult to decide whether phonetic peculiarities reflect linguistic realities or rather a change in metrical conventions. In earlier Old Javanese *ě* never occurs at the end of a word — in this position one finds instead *ö*, at least in *kakawin* where the metre gives us a means of checking the vowel length. In our text in a number of cases *ě* occurs at the end of a word: *lañě* (4, 1a), *pamañsě* (25, 2c), *masě* (27, 1d), *riněñě* (32, 7d), and *pinarikěđě* (34, 2b). This does not reflect a Modern Javanese form, as in Mod. Jav. too *ě* is impossible at the end of a word. Instead of OJ *ö* one regularly finds *u* in Mod. Jav. in such a position, and the *ě* in our text may reflect the fact that *ö* in this position had definitely been replaced by another short vowel. In this connection it should be remarked that within a word *ö* is far from rare in our text — on the contrary it seems to be rather common especially in words of which the basic morpheme is monosyllabic: *göñ* and its derivations; *padöman*, etc. One even finds metri causa *kantönanya* (19, 3d) instead of the normal *kantěnanya*.

Another characteristic of this text may indeed reflect a different linguistic situation: in Old Javanese when a suffix *-a* is added to a word ending in *-a*, a long *-ā* is the regular result: *marā* + *a* = *marā*. This text does not lack cases where this long *-ā* appears in the same situation, but besides, in quite a number of cases we find *-aha* (or *aa*), which may reflect Mod. Jav. *aa* (pronounced *óò*), e.g. 4, 6c *prāptaha*; 19, 3c *mār-gaha*; 3, 13a and 32, 6b *mukṣaha*, 6d *amarṇa-marṇaha*. In older *kakawin* such forms are extremely rare.

Altogether, the amount of typical modernisms in ŚR is small, especially if one considers the late date of the text, which may make it scarcely any older than either some of the Middle Javanese prose texts, such as Pararaton or Tantu Panggĕlaran, or some of the older *kiduñ*. There are some incidental forms which look strange in a *kakawin*, but comparable incidental forms occur in much older texts as well and they hardly give us a basis for comparative dating of the texts involved. A few curiosities of this kind may be mentioned. A passive form with *iñ-* instead of *in-* seems to occur in 28, 8d (*iñawur-awur*) — but the case is not quite unambiguous, and such doubtful cases of *iñ-* occur in much earlier texts as well.² In 36, 3b *rĕñĕñĕñ* instead of the common *rĕñön* seems to be a further example of an imperative with double occurrence of the suffix *-ĕñ*, although forms of this type occur as early as the Ādiparwa. Besides irregular forms such as *t-ajar-ĕñ* (11, 4c) and *t-ajar-ajar-ĕñ* (36, 2b) which seem to be a blending of two imperatives (one with *t-*, and one with *-ĕñ*),³ one finds in 19, 4d *ta-k asuñ* with a correct use of the pronominal *-k* and *t-añkat* in 12, 2d with pronominal *t-*. Semantically too, there seems little in the vocabulary used by Tanakuñ which deviates from standard Old Javanese poetical language.

In this connection it is interesting to observe that Tanakuñ must have had some form of first-hand knowledge of Sanskrit, as could be expected of someone who also wrote a handbook on metrics, based on Indian material and theories. In ŚR some Sanskrit words are found which otherwise are very rare or unknown from other Old Javanese texts, as, e.g. *yāma*, *madhyāhna*, *niwṛtti*.

Tanakuñ's knowledge of the quantity of vowels in Sanskrit words too seems to have been better than that of some older poets in Java.⁴

7. Poetical aspects

It is almost a cliché to say that it is always unsafe to express value judgments about literature in languages other than one's own, but this is all the more the case when we are dealing with Old Javanese, as we still have so little to rely on when establishing criteria of judgment. It is self-evident that the culture to which the poet belonged, being so utterly different from modern Western culture, will have made quite different

² Teeuw, 1946, p. 4.

³ Zoetmulder, 1950, p. 151 and Kern *V.G.* 8, p. 323.

⁴ For more details see Section 8, below.

requirements of a poet than our own. Keeping the above provision clearly in mind, we may make the following observations.

As Zoetmulder has pointed out,¹ the poet's *aim* is expressed in religious terms; his *means* of achieving his aim was poetry. From Old Javanese literature we get the picture of the poet as an aesthete, a specialist in the appreciation of natural beauty, for which purpose he wanders through the countryside composing his verses. His figure is familiar: the poet "roams absorbedly among the beauties of shore and mountain",² and hence is dubbed "the wanderer".³

The concepts "beauty", "nature" and "poetry" are so closely related in Old Javanese that the same word is used for all three of them, viz. *kalaniwan*, a derivation from the word *lanö*. The meaning of the corresponding verb *manö* (from **humanö*) is "to enjoy the beauties of nature lost in reverie" or "to experience beauty", as well as "to compose poetry". "Poetry" and "beauty" are identical, as we find clearly stated in the opening stanza of *Śiwarātrikalpa*. For the Western reader this ecstatic contemplation of nature sometimes assumes excessive proportions — even a scholar like Van Stein Callenfels, who could scarcely be said to be lacking in knowledge and appreciation of Javanese culture, could not help feeling some irritation at the endless descriptions of nature in *kakawin*, judging by his comments on the subject.⁴

Descriptions of love, feminine beauty and related subjects formed another favourite theme treated in a prescribed form in *kakawin*. Every poet worthy of the name devoted many cantos of his poem to this subject, either by taking a love-affair as the main theme of his story or by including all kinds of erotic scenes which were only distantly related to the main story, or by doing both. There is a marked preference for combining the scenes of nature with the erotic scenes; there are detailed descriptions relating how nature inspires man with all kinds of amorous feelings, and conversely how couples in love are enraptured by the beauty of nature. The intimate link between natural beauty and eroticism is expressed in various different ways through the use of metaphors.

Another compulsory feature of almost all *kakawin* is the elaborate, and to our taste exaggerated, descriptions of wars and battles between armies of heroes and demons. The eternal conflict between good and

¹ Zoetmulder, 1957.

² See ŚR 1, 2a.

³ See ŚR 3, 2d & 3, 10d.

⁴ Van Stein Callenfels, 1925, pp. 168 & 170.

evil, which is a typical theme of the *wayan*, evidently requires due emphasis on a down-to-earth military level as well, according to the norms of Old Javanese poetry. The Western reader struggles through these endless scenes with difficulty — in comparison with these the fighting in the *Iliad* seems mere child's play. The heroes of these battles are generally persons of high rank, such as kings, princes and incarnations of gods well-known from the Indian epics and *purāṇa*. In accordance with the requirements of Indian *kāvya*, the common people play only a minor role in most *kakawin*.

In view of the above we may say that as a *kakawin* ŚR occupies an unusual position. Among the features which characterize most earlier *kakawin*, that of a detailed description of a battle is also found in our *kakawin*. The battle between the armies of Śiwa and those of Yama takes up ten cantos (19-28), comprising 80 stanzas — that is, over one third of the text. Moreover, this description corresponds entirely with the epic norms which apparently applied to the genre in Java. The fantastic weapons and gruesome methods of warfare which the poet's imagination conjures up are almost equal to what our modern society has actually achieved.

But in other respects this *kakawin* is not at all typical of the genre. The hero is a hunter, a man of extremely low caste. His name, Lubdhaka, is not in fact a proper name in Sanskrit, but a word for "hunter". In our text his lowly social status is constantly underlined by the use of the words *śabara* and *niṣāda*⁵ with reference to him. Neither do his deeds have anything epic or heroic about them. The descriptions of his domestic life, his conversations with his wife, and so on, touching in their humanity, are very unusual for Old Javanese literature. Similarly the description of his illness and death are unique in their portrayal of the everyday life of the ordinary man.

In such a story, about such people, it was not easy to give love and nature the attention they usually receive in *kakawin*. The problem of how to include representations of nature was happily solved by using the hunter's journey at the beginning of the story as an opportunity for depicting in detail the landscape through which he travels. The technique of giving "aerial" views of the landscape (which was applied in the visual arts as well) was easy to use here, because the hunter travels through mountainous country in search of game.⁶ Sometimes

⁵ See footnote to 2, 1b.

⁶ See p. 46 below.

one even gets the impression that the author has forgotten that he is describing what the hunter is supposed to see. Although this passage may be said to be conventional and to contain clichés, it nevertheless excels in its restraint, its genuineness and its composition and is hence successful as poetry.

Naturally the poet must have found it more difficult to provide a suitable place for love and feminine beauty in his book. He did not see fit to utilize the relationship between the hunter and his wife in order to introduce the obligatory erotic clichés or lyrical transports. It may have been contrary to the precepts of Indian or Javanese ethics for a poet to go into the conjugal love of a worthless hunter. Hence Tanakuñ had little opportunity for including this theme except in his description of the abode of Śiwa (Canto 32), where the heavenly nymphs may have been included merely for poetical purposes.

Not only does ŚR lack some of the typical *kakawin* features but its didactic character is also unusual for the genre. Śiwa's explicit instruction of his wife at the end of the story, which may be seen as the chief purpose of the text, is a feature not usually encountered in a *kakawin*, although the motif itself of the deity instructing his wife was known both in India and in Java.⁷

All in all ŚR seems to occupy a special place in Old Javanese *kakawin* literature, both in subject matter and in the manner in which it is presented. In form and language, on the other hand, it is typical of the genre. Tanakuñ is skilled at his work and handles the conventions of the genre expertly; moreover, he obviously has a direct knowledge of Sanskrit — this is confirmed by WS⁸ — and is capable of using the possibilities of the genre and its literary conventions to achieve an independent and sober result.

8. *Metrics and Poetics*

As we have explained in the first section of this Introduction, the metrical system used in *kakawin* is Indian in origin, although this does not necessarily mean that all individual metres found in Java are known to have been used in India. It is quite possible that Javanese poets created new metres of their own, or that they had access to Indian textbooks on poetics which have until now remained unknown to Western scholars.

⁷ It occurs, e.g., in the *kakawin* Smaradahana and various Indian *purāṇa*.

⁸ Tanakuñ says that he is interpreting the *Pingalaśāstra*.

Siwarātrikalpa consists of 39 cantos. In these 20 different kinds of metre are used, of which 14 occur only once; Wasantatilaka and Sragdharā are each used in two cantos, Aśwalalita in four, whilst Sārdūlawikrīḍita and a metre the name of which is uncertain (but which is encountered in other *kakawin* as well) are used in five. Jagaddhita is used most frequently — it occurs in seven cantos. We set out below a specification of the metres which occur in ŚR, together with a brief reference to their occurrence in other *kakawin*, on the basis of information made available by Zoetmulder.

Cantos 1, 3, 9, 16, 29, 33, 39.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ▢

Name: Jagaddhita, also known as Ragakusuma, Wawirat and other names.

Occurs in *all* OJ *kakawin*, without exception; not known from Indian sources.

Cantos 2, 12, 15, 19, 23.

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Name: Sārdūlawikrīḍita.

Occurs in nearly all *kakawin*.

Canto 4.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ▢

Name: Suwadana.

Occurs in WS, RY, AW, BY, HW, SD, AWj, Sut, Nāg, etc.

Cantos 5, 14, 20, 36.

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Name: Aśwalalita.

Occurs in most *kakawin*.

Canto 6.

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Name: (according to Cantakaparwa and Balinese tradition) Girisa.

Occurs in AW, BY, HW, GK, SD, BK, Sum, Sut etc., but not in RY; not known from Indian sources.

Cantos 7, 21.

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Name: Wasantatilaka.

Occurs in most *kakawin*.

Canto 8.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Balinese tradition uncertain: Wirat Těbu Sol or Kalěňėnian (which are also names given to next metre).

Occurs in AW, HW, GK, SD, BK, Sum, AWj, Sut, etc. (not in RY); not known from Indian sources.

Cantos 10, 30, 32, 34, 37.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Wirat Tebu Sol or Kalěňėnian (see previous metre).

Occurs in AW, BY, HW, GK, BK, Sum, AWj, Sut, Nāg, etc. (not in RY); not found in Indian sources.

Canto 11.

--- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Wañśastha.

Occurs in WS, RY, AW, GK, BK, Sum, AWj, Nāg, etc.

Canto 13.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Turidagati?

Occurs in AW, HW, GK, etc. (not in RY); not known from Indian sources.

Canto 17.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

--- / --- / --- / ---

--- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Udgatawisama.

Occurs in WS, RY, BK, Sum, Sut, etc.

Canto 18.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: (according to Balinese tradition) Kusumawilasita.

Occurs in AW, HW, GK, BK, AWj, Sut, etc. (not in RY); not known from Indian sources.

Canto 22.

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Name: Indrabajra and Upendrabajra (resp.) (alternating, as in RY and Sut; this pattern called Upasthita in WS).

Indr. occurs in WS, RY, HW, SD, BK, Sum, AWj, Sut, etc.

Upend. occurs in WS, RY, BY, HW, SD, BK, etc.

Canto 24.

--- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Jaloddhatagati.

Occurs in WS, RY, AW, BK, etc.

Canto 25.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Pṛthiwītala.

Occurs in WS, RY, BY, GK, SD, BK, AWj, Sut, Nāg, etc.

Canto 26.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: unknown.

Only occurrences known so far : once in BK (75), and four times in GK.

Canto 27.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: (according to Balinese tradition) Madhulenda.

Occurs in RY (24, 14), AWj, Nāg, etc. ; not known from Indian sources.

Canto 28, 35.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Sragdharā.

Occurs in nearly all *kakawin*.

Canto 31.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: Śikhariṇī.

Occurs in nearly all *kakawin*.

Canto 38.

--- / --- / --- / --- / --- / ---

Name: (according to Balinese tradition) Mṛdukomala.

Occurs in AW, BY, GK, SD, BK, Sut, Nāg, etc. (not in RY); not known from Indian sources.

The overall picture which emerges from this summary is not an unusual one for an Old Javanese *kakawin* — a few favourites in addition to a large number of metres which are used only once or twice. Upon careful comparison of this list of metres with WS, written by the same author, we see that he has not restricted himself in his choice of metres for ŚR to the metres which he mentions in his own handbook. This is in agreement with the fact that in WS the poet states emphatically that he is only giving a selection :

- 107c: *kweh wr̥ttēn malanō tatan lininakēn manke tēkap ni nhulun*
 “There are a number of metres found in poetry which I have not mentioned here”; and
- 109c: *akweh wr̥tta turun linin mami palenakēna muwah ikôpalakṣanan*
 “There are many metres which I have not yet handled, which should be distinguished and which must be deduced”.

Therefore it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to authorship or relative chronology of the two texts from this difference between theory and practice.

As we have said above, the Sanskrit metrical system is based on a distinction between long and short vowels which is not common in Indonesian languages, including Javanese. This does not mean to say that Old Javanese poets were put to great trouble to answer the requirement of making the quantitative distinctions imposed by this metrical system. The conventions and criteria which they adopted for determining whether a syllable was long or short left them ample room. They were obviously little deterred by the fact that metrical length may have been a linguistic fiction for their own language.

According to this system a syllable is long :

(a) if it contains a long vowel ; or (b) if its vowel is followed by at least two consonants (even if one of these or both occur at the beginning of a following word).

Javanese poets recognized as long all long vowels in words borrowed from Sanskrit (*ā, ī, ū, e, o, ai, au*) as well as *e* and *o* in indigenous Javanese words; also all vowels which resulted from the contraction of two vowels, both at the beginning and end of two words and at the beginning and end of two morphemes: $\bar{a} < a + a$; $\bar{i} < i + i$; $\bar{u} < u + u$; $e < a + i$; $o < a + u$; $ai < a + e$; $au < a + o$. Moreover the vowels of a number of Old Javanese words are sometimes made long by poets even though they are not long as a result of *sandhi*. Comparative Indonesian linguistics shows that in many of these cases long vowels are historically the products of contraction, or are in some other way the result of a process of sound change, e.g. *tūt* corresponds to Mal. *turut*, and is probably a later form of *tuut* or *tuhut*; *lapā* corresponds to Mal. *lapar*, so that the length of the vowel may reflect the phonetic representation in proto-Javanese of proto-Indonesian *r* (as in English *par*!). The important question which remains to be answered is whether in this type of case Old Javanese poets or theoreticians interpreted and manipulated the vowels as long on purely phonetic grounds, or whether

other considerations were important as well. Also in cases in which an etymological explanation of the length of the vowel is difficult, a long vowel is often found in monosyllabic words and at the end of a word in Old Javanese, possibly on the analogy of the above examples. Finally there are a number of words with a vowel which was evidently variable in Old Javanese poetry, such as *lāwan/lawan*.

The number of potentially long vowels which the Old Javanese poet had at his disposal on the basis of these conventions became even greater because of the rule of length by position. In fact this rule was apparently the greatest producer of long vowels; a study of the first seven stanzas of ŚR reveals that of a total of 580 syllables, 256 were long according to the requirements of the metres. Of these 57 were long exclusively on the basis of a long vowel, whereas 199 were long by position. Needless to say among the latter there were a number of cases of redundant vowel length, e.g. Skt. *kīrti*, etc. It certainly would not be true to say that Old Javanese poets were only able to comply with the requirements of Sanskrit metres thanks to the great number of Sanskrit-derived words used in their poetry. It is true, however, that no matter how much freedom Old Javanese poets were left by their conventions, they nonetheless sometimes found it extremely difficult to effect the required quantity in the appropriate place and so resorted to a kind of poetic license, so that Sanskrit-derived words are sometimes seen to have different quantities from the original Sanskrit word. In general we might say that the more recent the work, the more frequently does it display a freedom of this nature. We should not make generalizations about this tendency in poetical technique, for strange forms are sometimes found even in earlier poems, whereas a later poem such as ŚR testifies to a relatively conventional use of the metrical principles. We said above that Tanakuṇ apparently had a knowledge of Sanskrit — even so he uses a few words which deviate in quantity from the original Sanskrit: *magha* instead of *māgha* is an obvious example (36, 2d). A freedom which the author makes use of more often is the manipulation of final vowels as long vowels, even where there could not possibly be question of a suffix *-a* or an etymologically long vowel: e.g. *tekapnyā* (4, 3c), *pejahā* (5, 1d), *asuṇā* (9, 4b), *tekaptā* (11, 7d), *īsyā* (19, 5b). In some, but not in all cases, such a long *ā* might be a spelling variant of *-a-ṇi*, as Zoetmulder has suggested (2, 4c; 9, 4b). It would be interesting to investigate whether at a later time, under the influence of the numerous cases of final *-a* being etymologically or morphologically long, a new rule was developed according to which

every final *-a* was variable. Another possibility which the poet possessed at even an early period in order, if necessary, to create a long syllable by position was that of omitting or inserting *h* as a consonant at the beginning of a word, on the basis of pairs such as *harēp-arēp*, or *hiriñ-iriñ*. Working on this principle Tanakuñ uses an extraordinary reduplicated form with *-um-* such as *miras-hiras* (36, 2a), and does not hesitate to supply the Sanskrit name Antaka with an *h* for the sake of the metre: *sañ Hantaka* (25, 6a); see also *nikañ hacala* (2, 1c) and *ikañ hamarasundari* (32, 1a). A few other peculiarities have been pointed out above in the section on the language of the poem. Suppression of a *pěpět* for metrical reasons occurs in cases such as *asēluran* > *asluran*, *smu* instead of *sēmu* (19, 13d); this is unusual but not impossible in earlier texts. There seems to be a metrical error in 22, 1a, where the third syllable of *Puṣpadantēñ* should be short.

Metrical requirements were not the only ones which a *kakawin* was expected to satisfy. Indian poetics possess an involved system of theories about and rules for the composition of *kāvya*; it seems likely that the poets of ancient Java were also aware of these. Hooykaas has shown that RY may have been intended as a model *kakawin*, in which Indian principles of poetry were illustrated in Old Javanese.¹ So far very little has been done in the way of study on this aspect of the *kakawin*. One has the impression, however, that with the passage of the centuries the mastery of poetical technique declined. For example, *śabdālamkāra* (embellishment of the sound, i.e. alliteration, etc.), which plays a prominent role in RY and AW, tends to be more and more neglected. In ŚR, however, there are a few lines where assonance has been successfully applied. The most striking examples are found in the following two lines:

- 13, 2a *gaṇa-gaṇa ghūrñitēñ gagana tan paṇaṇita maguñēñ ranāṅgaṇa*;
 13, 2c *paḍa masurak-surak surak ikāsrū tan asirik i śūra niñ musuh*.

In the following two examples one encounters *anuprāsa* (repetition of similar syllables):

- 3, 7a *himbañ-himbañ ikañ parañ uway umijil tinali-tali tinuntun in talañ*;
 3, 7c *rēmbēs-rēmbēs atis ri sor niki pakis bañ anarasah awor pakis wilis*.

We have not observed any examples of *yamaka* (word-play or pun)

¹ Hooykaas, 1958.

in ŚR, but this does not mean that they are necessarily absent, as WS contains many deliberate examples, where the name of a metre is mentioned as such and also with a different meaning attached to it.

Examples of *arthālamkāra* (figures of speech) are to be found in plenty in ŚR. Mostly they are not as complicated or far-fetched as in texts such as AW, BK and BY and give a charming effect, although they may be mere clichés. We referred in the previous section to the metaphors or natural symbols which are employed in descriptions of scenery and of beautiful women — these things are described in terms of each other by the use of figurative language (see, for example, Cantos 5, 6 and 32) which is not always easy to grasp. Some of these instances are indicated in the notes on the translation. Perhaps the most original images occur in Canto 17, where the soul of Lubdhaka, floating miserably in the sky, laments his condition by means of comparisons borrowed from nature.

9. *The Maṅgala*

The following sections will deal with specific parts of the poem Śīwarātrikalpa, as we thought it would be useful to provide explanations (more than is possible in the footnotes) or running paraphrases, in order to clarify the meaning or give further information in addition to the translation.

The first passage calling for elucidation is the very first canto, which contains what is called the *maṅgala*. While referring to Zoetmulder's fundamental article for general aspects of the *maṅgala* in Old Javanese *kakawin*,¹ we may observe the following (in which the end of the text will also be referred to).

The *maṅgala* of ŚR contains the three elements which are normally to be expected, namely :

1. invocation of a deity ;
2. glorification of the ruling king ;
3. self-abasement by the poet (which is at the same time a self-justification).

The god invoked here is not mentioned by name, but is referred to as the God of Gods. In view of the subject of the poem this is most

¹ Zoetmulder, 1957.

probably Śiwa. It should be observed straightaway that with Tanakuñ himself there is no question of exclusive Śiwaism, because his poem WS commences with an invocation of the Goddess of Speech, Saraswati (Wāgīśwari), as is natural for a work on metrics, and mentions the deities Brahma, Wiṣṇu, Bāṇi and Śrī as well.² In the Java of those times, as in present-day Bali, there was no question of monotheism in the sense that one might worship one god to the exclusion of all others, but every deity in the pantheon had a right to worship at the proper time and place. In this connection it may be useful to quote the opening lines of WS with a translation, because these show clearly the difference in deity on the one hand and because on the other they demonstrate unmistakably the close link between these two texts in the matter of language.

WS 1a-d:

*sañ hyaṅ Wāgīśwarindah lihat i satata bhaktiñkw i jöñ Dhātṛdewi
pinrih rin citta muñgw in sarasija ri dalēm twas lanênastawañku
nityâweha-ñ warânugraha kaluputa rin duhkha sañsâra wighna
lâwan tâstu wruhên sâstra sakalagunañ nin janma tapwan hanêwêh*

2a *nāhan donkw-âjapânarcana ri sira kēdō mrākṛta-ñ candaśâstra*

May the Goddess of Speech look graciously on my constant devotion at her feet, she the spouse of the Creator;

My mind seeks her establishment in the lotus in the midst of my heart, and I therefore constantly praise her.

May she always grant me the favour of escaping sorrow, suffering and hindrances,

And may I be knowledgeable in literature and all the sciences of men, without any difficulty.

Such is my aim in murmuring prayers and worshipping her, struggling to interpret the Chandaḥ-śâstra...

After this the poet turns immediately to his subject, the explanation of Old Javanese metrical systems. These five lines are fairly self-explanatory, but we shall return to them below.

Having identified *sañ hyaṅ nin hyaṅ* as Śiwa (cf. SD 1,8d),³ it is

² On Saraswati in Balinese religion see Hooykaas, 1964, pp. 19-39.

³ *hyaṅ nin hyaṅ pwa sirâtapâpa ta kunañ sādhyān muwah de nira* ("He is the god of gods, practising asceticism; what more, then, must he strive for?").

immediately clear from the terminology used in the first stanza that we are here concerned with Tantristic Śīwaism, in which *yoga* plays a prominent part in the liberation of the individual. Characteristic of this are the two forms in which the deity is perceivable; these are usually called *niṣkala* (immaterial) as opposed to *sakala* (material). From the first line it appears that in his *niṣkala* form he is the object of concentration of "one who is accomplished in poetic arts", i.e. a poet, or literally one who is weighed down or pregnant with *lañö* (poetry, beauty, emotion, etc.). The deity's *sakala* form is here called *sthūlākāra* (coarse, gross, tangible form), which resides in the heart-lotus (*hṛdaya-kamala*). The latter expression is well-known from the literature on Tantrism.⁴

In the third line are given the means (meditation, songs of praise, and so on) by which the religious man can approach the *sakala* manifestation of the deity. But by the word *ñhiñ* in the fourth line the poet seems to suggest an opposition, that is, that he is aiming for an even higher goal, and is intent on being granted the favour of achieving "world-conquest in Beauty", with which he appears to refer back to the first lines and identification with the deity in his *niṣkala* form. The expression *digjayêñ lañö* is, of course, reminiscent of that used of kings who hoped to become "world-conquerors", and represents the highest ideal of the poet.⁵

The above interpretation is, however, not entirely certain. A weak point is perhaps the translation of the words *in samañkana*. After the passive verb *linēkasakēñ* one would expect an agent to be mentioned ("by such a man"); this would then refer back to the "one accomplished in poetic arts" mentioned in (a). But then the opposition between the *niṣkala* form of the deity and his *sthūlākāra* which the text itself makes would be of little significance, and the word *ñhiñ* ("but") makes little sense here. On the other hand the phrases (*r*)*in samañkana* and *in samañkā* occur as early as the Old Javanese Ādiparwa in the meaning of "now" or "then" — and hence by extension perhaps "at this stage"⁶

The *maṅgala* of WS quoted above may appear to argue against our interpretation, for there is no question of an opposition: Tanakuñ is striving, he says, to induce the deity to establish herself in his heart-lotus, and thus to free him from evil, although release in the religious

⁴ See, for example, Goris, 1926, pp. 63-64; Pott, 1966, pp. 139-140 and especially Hooykaas, 1964 and 1966, Glossary under *hṛdaya*(*padma*, -*puṇḍarika*).

⁵ See, e.g., BY 1, 3d; Aichele, 1967, p. 230.

⁶ See Zoetmulder, 1950, pp. 29-30, and ŚR 37, 3c & 5c.

sense through yoga is not mentioned. In WS 2a as well, where the poet claims to be worshipping the goddess (by means of *japa*, the same word as used in ŚR 1, 1c), it seems as if everything is on a somewhat lower level. The poet seems to be primarily concerned with obtaining blessing for the execution of his work, and not so much with ultimate release. Hence, despite the parallels in word-usage, the *maṅgala* of WS need not argue against our translation of ŚR 1. In the two texts we are apparently on different planes of religious ambition. It is also striking that the word *lañö* and its derivatives, which so dominate the *maṅgala* of ŚR, are absent in the opening lines of WS.

This word *lañö* and its derivatives are repeated twice in the second stanza of ŚR. The poet here seems to be contrasting his aimless wandering (*mañö*) and enjoyment of nature (*kalañěn* — the older form *ka-...-ěn* is used instead of the for this period more usual *ka-...-an* for metrical reasons) with the more useful work which must follow it and which will make these activities meaningful, namely the writing of poetry. That is why he allows himself to be guided by his inspiration and “makes bold to write a *kakawin*”. He uses the word *makirti*, which means “to win oneself fame”, or “to acquire merit” by means of a good deed. In Old Javanese *kīrti* became a generally accepted word for “poem” (*kakawin*), as this offered the poet the most efficacious means of acquiring merit. This line further says explicitly that the *kīrti* consists of a *kakawin*. The *k* assonance is most striking in this line.

In line 2c the immediate aim of the work, namely to effect the king's welfare, is stated. The expression *sañ panikĕlan tanah*, which is found in other works, such as AW 36, 2d, as well, is rather puzzling, but thanks to Zoetmulder's lexicographical material there can be little doubt that the meaning of these words is “he (the illustrious one) over whom poets break their pens in two”, or “he who is the object on account of which (poets) snap their pens”.⁷ By means of his poem he expresses the wish that the king may continue to receive the esteem of his subjects. The poet mentions his royal patron by name in the fourth line — the reader is referred to section 4 of this Introduction for the identity of Ādi-Surabhāwa.

But in the third stanza the poet seems to recoil at his own boldness. He admits that it is not humanly possible for him to gain honour with an inferior work like this, but expresses the hope that it will at least be of service to him as far as his religious aspirations are concerned,

⁷ See also Aichele, 1967, p. 227, whose interpretation of *tikĕl* does not seem correct.

and will be a means of reaching *nirāśraya*, a term often used in these texts with reference to the Absolute, which is of course identical with Śiwa. In Sanskrit the word *nirāśraya* generally means "helpless", "without refuge", but it is here a technical term from the practice of yoga.⁸

This third stanza of Canto 1 runs closely parallel to Canto 38 in which Tanakun goes at greater length into his shortcomings as a poet: he does not do *kalanwan* sufficient justice and offends against the metrical rules of *gurulaghu*, the literal meaning of which is "heavy and light", i.e. long and short syllables. This term also occurs in later Javanese poetry, but there its meaning is evidently no longer understood.⁹

Here the poet lays special emphasis on his poetical activities as a means of combatting the confusion in his heart. In this respect too the last thing he expects is to win the approbation of his public, but here again he expresses the hope of being freed of *kleśa* by means of his poetical activity. He hopes to be cleansed of the impurities of earthly existence and thus to gain access to the Absolute, here referred to by the same word as in Canto 1. It seems strange that the author of a work which so emphatically claims to demonstrate that the performance of the Śiwarātri ritual is the most efficacious way to salvation should regard *poetry* as the most effective means of achieving that goal for himself. Is this phrase so much a customary element that the author does not feel a contradiction between the contents of his poem and the expressions of his opening and final lines? ¹⁰

Following the more or less familiar, conventional expressions of Canto 38 comes the single stanza of Canto 39. One might defend the view that with Canto 38 the poem was already a rounded and complete whole and that there could be nothing more of any importance to say. As Canto 39 is represented in all mss., however, it has to be accepted as part of the original text, unless proof to the contrary can be given. As yet this is not possible. After the obligatory, formal Canto 38 the stanza of Canto 39 strikes us as a very personal statement: note the use of the personal pronoun *-ku*, the predominant use of Javanese rather than Sanskrit words, the expression of strongly *diesseitig* feelings which contrast so distinctly with the *jenseitig*, lofty but impersonal

⁸ See Glossary *nirāśraya*.

⁹ The expression also occurs in HW 54, 1b, where it has been mistranslated by Teeuw.

¹⁰ Or was the Śiwarātri not, in fact, intended to be performed by the common man? See also p. 57.

climax of Canto 38, 2d. Is this stanza, in opposition to the formal creed of the court poet of Canto 38, the very personal creed of the man Tanakuñ, whose one and only interest in life was indeed to wander around creating poetry, and who felt cut off from the source of life if circumstances kept him from doing so? It is interesting to observe that WS too, after the more formal ending of stanzas 109 and 110, adds a few stanzas in which more personal feelings seem to have found expression, even though it is true that these final stanzas of WS are much closer to conventional *kakawin* endings than ŚR 39 is. On the other hand it is difficult to deny that there are certain elements in ŚR 39 which savour of Balinese interpolation: the absence of a grammatical subject in line 1, the accumulation of nominal expressions, connected with *ri* and *in*, the excessive use of the article *ni*. Perhaps a comparative study of a greater number of endings — especially of later, Balinese *kakawin* — might enable us to reach a more definite conclusion. And we have to bear in mind that in any case what seems to us to be a logical or illogical ending of an Old Javanese *kakawin* need not necessarily coincide with what Javanese poets themselves deemed logical or illogical.

10. *Features of the Javanese countryside, as depicted in
Śiivarātrikalpa, Cantos 2 and 3*

In this section we should like to highlight the close relationship between the literary and visual arts of ancient Java. In the past these have often been treated as separate matters, whereas they are not only complementary studies but can be of great assistance in the comprehension one of the other. It is well known that literary themes were depicted in the form of reliefs on the *candi* (as well as in other places), and that a knowledge of the literary source can help in the explanation of such reliefs. (Reliefs depicting the tale of Lubdhaka have until now not been positively identified.) Conversely, the reliefs can assist us greatly in determining the meaning of certain OJ words — they can show us visually what an object looked like — or they can aid our insight by showing us the way a situation was imagined by the people of, say, fourteenth century Java. This subject is highly complex; we simply wish to emphasize here the importance of a knowledge of ancient Javanese art for that of literature, and the fruitfulness of co-operation between these two fields of study.

The descriptions to be found in Cantos 2 and 3 are supplied by the poet to illustrate the kind of country through which the hunter Lubdhaka passed on his expedition in search of game. It is stated that he set off toward the *north-east* (2, 4a), and later (3, 11a) that he came within sight of the *sea*. It is interesting to compare this with some lines from WS (74) :

rarahēn i lanēn in wukir patapan lēyēp
yadi katēkaha riñ jaladhy aparājita
 "Seek him among the hazy hills and hermitages,
 Though you come as far as the north-eastern sea."

If the poet resided in a mountainous place in which the sea lay to the north-east, we might be tempted to look for its location somewhere in the Pēnaṅguṇan-Arjuna mountain complex, or in the region of Tumapēl where, as we have explained,¹ Suraprabhāwa may have had his capital.

The hunter's home was in the mountains (2, 1c), and as he set out he was able to see down into the valleys where there were various objects which caught his attention; these are catalogued in 2, 4b:

tāman : these may have been the plantations or vegetable gardens which were cultivated for their own subsistence by the occupants of, for example, the *maṇḍala*. The gardens lay outside the wall of the community and people went there daily to work. *Maṇḍala*, *parhyaṇan*, *pañalusan* and *katyāgan* are each types of religious "establishment", in which people lived apart (either as communities or singly) in order to devote themselves to meditation and religious practices.

In lines (c) and (d) of stanza 4 we find a description of the fields (*thani*) which Lubdhaka could see mounting the slopes of the mountains while he stood on the heights looking down. The fields were planted with various crops (*tanduran*) and were irrigated from a stream coming down from the hills. The idea of viewing the landscape from above appears to have been widespread. Visually we see it represented on the reliefs of Caṇḍi Trawulan,² where temple complexes are shown in "aerial perspective".

Further down Lubdhaka caught sight of a village (*deśa*) nestling in a valley. The description of this is given in stanza 5. Of the buildings

¹ See above, p. 16.

² For an illustration of this see Krom, 1923, vol. 3, pl. 67.

in general (*nyāsa*), he could make out the roofs of the *rañkan* — what these were is uncertain, but we may conjecture that they were ordinary dwelling houses, of rectangular ground-plan and bearing a “saddle-roof” covered with a thatch of grass (*lalan* = *alang-alang*). As a sign of prosperity and of the fact that the people were about their daily activities, smoke (*kukus*) is to be seen drifting and hanging in the air. Two features which are picked out because of their significance are the banyan tree (*wanḍira* = *waringin*) and the hall; these are taken as symbols of the community, and the poet underlines the function of the *bale* as a place where people gathered to discuss business. Its roofing material, reeds or rushes (*kalakah*) is more durable than *alang-alang* grass.

Looking away to the west of this now (in stanza 6), Lubdhaka could see on the slopes of the ridges rice-fields (*pasawahan*), with the typical neat lines of their dikes (*galēn*); gardens (*kubwan*) which were carefully planted out in rows (perhaps with vegetables); and coconut palms (*tirisan*). All three apparently belonged to the village, and must have represented the three main branches of its agricultural activity — and hence sources of its food supply.

Somewhere in the vicinity of the village (*sañḍiñnya*) there stood a complex of buildings used by a community of monks or nuns under the authority of a superior, called the *dewaguru* (stanza 7).³ As prescribed for religious establishments, it stood near water (*lwah gōñ*). The first element mentioned is the gate (*dwāra*), which was prominent, being higher than the rest. The wall (*bapra* or *lalayan*) completely enclosed the complex, and various trees were planted along the wall, presumably on the outside.

Within the wall there stood a number of *mahantēn*, “arranged just as one sees in pictures” — this may well be evidence for the existence of paintings as still found in Bali. It is not certain what these buildings were, but it is possible that they were small, square dwellings of four or six pillars in which the members of the community lived and slept. They were roofed with black *arēn* fibre, hence their comparison with girls’ hair. Stanza 8 is devoted to describing the *mahantēn*.

The final stanza of this canto describes the courtyard (*natar*) to be found on the northern side of the complex, which was used for religious activities. The courtyard had grass growing in it, as it is described

³ A sketch of the ground-plan of a similar complex is seen in Galestin, 1936, p. 108.

as “bright and green”, but the grass had been kept short (*taṇḍēs*). Within the courtyard were found *payajñan* (lit. “place for offerings”); these were presumably structures on which the offerings were placed, and could have been either very simple platforms, more elaborate shrines with roofs or canopies, or of the niche type still seen in Bali.⁴ It is said that they were *rēsik*, i.e. well-kept, neat or clean, or perhaps decorated with fresh green leaves. Also within the courtyard were *tūnkub-tūnkub*, which were shrines with a stone base and a very tall roof, whether of the pagoda type or not we cannot be certain (see Glossary). As befitting a holy place it was quiet, except for the sound of conch and prayer-bell, both indicating the activities of priests celebrating their religious rites. The description of the *kadewagurwan* gives the impression of a place still alive and well cared for, in contrast to what follows.

The first four stanzas of Canto 3 give a description of a temple complex (*dharma*) which has fallen into ruins. No spatial relation of this complex to the foregoing items is mentioned, although it is said that it stood beside a mountain stream. As we draw near, first the path is mentioned (*hawan*, 3, 1a). Next we are informed about the state of the *supit makara* — these were apparently the curving trunks of the “water-elephants”, which stood on either side affixed to the foot of the steps leading into the temple complex. Neither such a flight of steps nor a doorway or gate is mentioned, although they are suggested by the mention of the wall (*lalayan* 3, 1b) which probably enclosed the complex. Moving closer, our eye falls on the *cawintěn*. This was probably the monster-head found over the doorway (see Glossary). Finally, the free-standing figures (*wiwarapāla*) on either side of the gateway are mentioned; these acted as guardians.

In stanza 2 the imaginary visitor has entered the courtyard, where he observes the condition of the *bwat-dhantěn* and its *wanūnan* (buildings). Of the latter it is said that some “were now only wreckage, while others had rotted away”, so we immediately think of wooden structures; their roofs and pillars are also described. What the *bwat-dhantěn* was is not certain. We followed Zoetmulder’s interpretation; he takes *bwat-dhantěn* to be a *sandhi* form of *bwat-hantěn*. *Hantěn* would then be a “krama” variant of *halu*; *bwat-halu* is known from Sum., etc. As *halu* can be equated with *līṅga*, is it possible to think of these pavilions as ‘līṅga-pavilions’? Another interpretation would be

⁴ See, for example, Moojen, 1926, plate XXI.

to read *bwat-ḍantěn*, and to interpret *ḍantěn* as a variant of *rawi*.⁵ The *bwat-ḍantěn* should then be equated with the *bwat-rawi* which is described in stanza 4 of this canto. This, however, is not very probable. *Wukiran* has been taken in the sense of *ukiran*, reliefs, against the interpretation of Zoetmulder. As the girls mentioned in the same line apparently are carved figures forming part of the *wukiran* it is difficult to explain this as some kind of *gunungan*. We point specifically to Balinese *puri*'s as depicted in Moojen, plates LII, LIV, LVI.

In stanza 3 we come to the main temple (*prāsāda*) itself; this seems to have had a number of small pinnacles (*puca-pucak*). The sides (*pārśwa*) of the building had been parted by the roots of a fig, and all the "accompanying figures" were destroyed. These were the images of deities which were placed around either the inside or the outside of the cella and seemed to act as servants or ministers surrounding the king, represented by the main deity standing in the midst of the cella. Here the deity is described as being firmly in place, standing in the centre of the *pranālaka*. The original meaning of the term *pranālaka*, according to Indian architectural handbooks, is "channel", namely that cut in the base (*yoni*) on which a *liṅga* or figure of the god Śiwa stands; the function of the channel is to collect the water poured over the image and to direct it through a spout in the side of the base, where it is collected and used for religious purposes, having been impregnated with the purifying influence of the divine image. In Java, however, the term for the part has apparently been applied to the whole, and the word *pranālaka* designates the base or pedestal into which the *liṅga* or image is fitted.⁶

In stanza 4 we leave the main temple and move on through the compound. The "many buildings" mentioned probably served various mundane functions in the neighbourhood of the temple; it is not clear whether they should be taken in association with the spouts (*makara*) also found in line (a). With these we have reached the retaining wall of the pool (*bwat-rawi*) which is often to be found in temple precincts. The spouts poured water into the pool, in which water-lilies probably floated. The word *upacāra* seems to indicate all the various kinds of embellishment or ornamentation which might in general be expected to adorn such a construction. The term *bwat-rawi* (although translated

⁵ In Nāg. 32, 5a we find *bwat rāntěn atulis*; Pigeaud, 1960, takes this as equivalent to *bwat rawi*..., and translates it as a 'constructed pond' (Vol. III, p. 36).

⁶ See Van Naerssen, 1941, p. 35 note 10.

with "pool") probably includes the whole construction consisting of walls, steps, pool and in the centre an island with on it a small building (generally called *bale kamban*), to which one could retire to meditate, read the scriptures or to relax. Line (c) points to the custom of visiting such a place, as the courts are described as now deserted, with no trace of a visitor.

In stanza 5 the poet in his mind's eye looks further to the north-east. Although he seems temporarily to have forgotten the hunter looking down on these scenes, perhaps we are to understand that the viewer himself has moved further, continuing his journey to the north-east. Stanzas 5-9 contain the description of what was probably a landscaped garden (*taman-taman*), a favourite resort for people seeking pleasure (see 3, 5d). Stanza 5 mentions the pathway, leading in steps (*hambal-hambal*) up a hill-side, and the trees and flowers.

The mushroom-pavilions found in stanza 6 must be the small structures which can be seen on reliefs and consist of a roof supported by *one* pillar, hence the comparison.⁷ There is some doubt about their function in the context; in general they appear to have a religious purpose, and people are not seen sitting under them on the reliefs. It is also not clear why they should appear hidden or withdrawn. The "spout" referred to might be a natural spring which feeds the stream described here.

Stanzas 7 and 8 continue the description of the water on its downward course. *Talan* (7a) are the pipes made of lengths of bamboo, such as are still used in the hydraulic systems of Javanese rice-fields, being of convenient size and resistant to rotting in damp ground. *Taluktak* (7b) ("musical water-mills") are instruments turned by falling water and sounding musical notes. They are described by Kunst.⁸ Another point deserving special mention comes in line 8b, which mentions *makara*, carved in a row, and probably placed in the river-bank. This idea is confirmed from elsewhere, as the bathing-place at Caṇḍi Kidal shows us a number of *makara*, each spouting a thin stream of water, set in the bank of the watercourse.⁹ The effect is, indeed, striking.

The *paṇḍan urwan* of stanza 9 is the pandanus palm; the name means "man-*paṇḍan*", and reflects the fact that the silhouette of this tree looks like grotesque human forms, standing astride and letting their

⁷ See Galestin, 1936, Ch. II.

⁸ Kunst, 1968, p. 58.

⁹ For an illustration, see *Publicaties O.D.* I, (1925) pl. 15 a & b.

arms hang down in an attitude of despair.¹⁰ They are therefore described as “hanging over the rocks”, and as looking sad.

The *puḍak* which have been dropped and have verse written on them are the conical buds of the pandanus palm.¹¹ They are suitable to write on as they are soft and when scratched turn black; they are frequently mentioned in Javanese literature in the stock-situation where a lovelorn maiden nurses a *puḍak* and addresses it as the child of her indifferent object of love. A fine example is found in AW 4, 3:

wwantĕn mañumbana puḍak ginuritnya Pārtha
ndā-n suswa-suswani kinolnya hana-n lininlin . . .
 (There was one who caressed a *puḍak*, singing to it as to Arjuna;
 She would try to put it to her breast, embracing it and would
 say to it . . .)

With this we have reached the end of the passage containing objects worthy of comment from an architectural or archaeological point of view.

11. Religious Notes

Before going on to discuss the Śiwarātri ritual itself, we should insert here some observations on its religious background. The whole conception of the ritual as a means of achieving salvation rests, of course, on certain other basic beliefs which must have been held, if not by the population at large, then by the circle to which the poet belonged, namely the Indianized court and clergy.

The matter is epitomized in the objection raised by the Gaṇas, Śiwa's troops, to his order to go and bring the hunter's soul to Śiwa's heaven:

(11, 9) (*apan*) *sajīwanya sadāmatī mṛga*
samātra tapwan magawe tapabrata
ndya tĕka donanya tĕkĕn Śiwālaya
kĕnohnya yan muṁsira tāmbara gohmukha

We see here two destinations for the soul depicted as alternatives: the abode of Śiwa (Heaven) and the Cow-Headed Cauldron (Hell). According to the following stanza it was the special function of the Kiṅkaras (the followers of Yama, king of the afterworld) to decide

¹⁰ For illustrations see *Publicaties O.D.*, pl. 37 (Tjanḍi Soerawana, panelen 6 & 7).

¹¹ A box in the shape of a *puḍak* is seen in Bernet Kempers, 1959, pl. 196.

who should go to Heaven and who to Hell. The criterion for this distinction is the conduct of the person during his life — good conduct consists of *ulah dharma . . . mwan yaśa* (2, 2a), or *mapunya yaśa dharma len brata* (5, 6c), while bad conduct is, for example (as in the case of the hunter Lubdhaka), *nora-ni saṁśaya kewalāsukha-sukhan* (2, 1d), or *lot maburū . . . mamati-ni mon wēk*, etc. (2, 2b), or *satatānuwuki saka-sēnēn nin indriya* (8, 7d). Lubdhaka is depicted as a *niṣāda*, that is, someone of the meanest possible social station and engaged in the most despised and most evil possible occupation, killing other living creatures. It is hinted that if he had carried out even the smallest act of penance it might have made a difference to his fate in the afterlife, but he had not, and so the consequence had to be that he be punished by the followers of Yama. Not only do we see how evil it is to take life, but also the view that it is evil to indulge the desires of the senses and to enjoy oneself, in contrast with the virtue which is accumulated through acts of asceticism (*tapabrata*). This is the classical Brahmanical viewpoint.

Although the ideas of a heaven and a hell, and of inevitable retribution for evil deeds and rewards for good deeds are clearly present here, the doctrine of reincarnation is nowhere mentioned,¹ even though it is so prominent in Indian thought.

In this text the figure of Yama is not described, nor is the fate of those punished in Hell. Hell is called either a *kawah* (cauldron or crater), or the Tāmbara Gohnmukha — a copper adorned with heads of cattle on either end, such as is frequently seen in Balinese illustrations of Hell. Yama is punisher of the dead and to him is brought the soul after leaving the body; then the recorder, Citragupta, reads in a book a full account of its deeds during its life. In India the book is called *Agrasandhānī*; in this text it is called a *galih* (see footnote to the translation), but no specific name is given.

There is no question that the chief god is Śīwa. Apart from Yama, only Indra, Girindrāduhitā, Kumāra and Gaṇeśa are mentioned by name among the other deities — “the gods” in general are mentioned once (37, 10d). The Buddha or Viṣṇu are nowhere referred to. The central theme of the work is the worship of Śīwa, and we have earlier (p. 18) pointed to the prominence of the cult of Śīwa in the late Majapahit period.

On the basis of what has been said above we should draw attention to the following. We have seen that in Java of this period it was

¹ We do not agree with Hooykaas' translation (1964) p. 198 of *abalik* (37, 9c) as “reborn”.

believed that the body and the soul were not identical — after death, and after the cremation of the body, the soul continued to exist. The form which it was imagined to take is not described, but we get the impression that Lubdhaka's soul looked much the same as his body had done while he was still alive on earth. It is interesting to note that the spirit-world is located *in the sky or air* (rather than e.g. under the earth) — there are several references in this poem which show this.

The question now is, what happened when someone died and his soul left his body? The text says (9, 5) that the signs of life (heart-beat and breathing) grew weaker and passed out of Lubdhaka's body via his throat. It then contains this line:

nora-ñ dharma samātra pañlēpasa jīwa karaṇa nika yan samāṅkana
 "For he had not fulfilled the least part of the moral law as a release for his soul, and that is why he was in such a state." (9, 5d)

The word *pañlēpas* signifies "means for releasing". For an explanation we may look to *Calon Arañ*.² After Calon Arañ had died, mpu Bharadāh remembered that he had not yet told her about her release (*kalēpasan*). He revived her, and explained that he had done this in order to tell her of her release, to point out her heaven and to remove her impediment. He did these things and she died successfully released (*lukat*); the body was then cremated. The use of the word *lukat* is instructive. It suggests that she was released from a demonic (or animal) form, or that she was exorcised of her evil nature, and hence free to go straight to heaven. The belief was that a demonic or animal incarnation was the result of evil deeds or the outward expression of an evil nature. Returning to Lubdhaka, we have here a figure who was thoroughly evil — who had never performed a virtuous deed — and who died. But after his death his soul found itself floating aimlessly in the air:

"There in the air he was sorrowful and pitiable;
 He knew not for which destination he should head." (11, 1c-d)

This is because he had not been "released" and did not know the way to heaven; that is, it had not been pointed out to him. What, then, was the nature of the "means for releasing" which he lacked? It is called here *dharma*, that is, virtuous deeds in accordance with the moral law, but in the case of Calon Arañ it seems to have consisted of *instruction* concerning release, perhaps in the nature of the moral law.

² Ed. Poerbatjaraka (1926a), pp. 129-130.

12. *The Ritual of the Night of Śiwa*

In connection with the actual description of the rules for celebrating the Night of Śiwa contained in Canto 37 of this *kakawin*, we should as a preliminary step draw attention to certain points mentioned in the story of the hunter Lubdhaka, because this fulfils in the whole the function of illustrating how the rite was once performed — albeit unwittingly — resulting in Lubdhaka's deliverance.

In line 2, 2a it is said specifically that "from the time of his earliest youth" Lubdhaka "had never observed the moral law or acquired religious merit", and this is further underlined by the fact that he (2b) "had always engaged in hunting . . ." This is to say, he possessed nothing which might later secure a happy outcome after death, under the system of thought current in the author's time.

Stanza 3, Canto 2 states that the particular day on which the hunter happened to set out on his hunting expedition was (3a) "the fourteenth day of the dark half of the seventh month", and that when he set forth he was (3b) "wearing a hunter's jacket of dark(-blue) cloth". The date on which the ritual must be performed is mentioned by the god Śiwa, for example, in 36, 2d (*riñ magha kulēm caturdaśa hirēñ*), and the rule that one must put on a new, clean jacket in 37, 1d (*manigasana śuddhakañśuga*).

It is stated that Lubdhaka did not eat for the whole day: (4, 4c) "He was hungry too, as he had not eaten since he first set out from home, and midday had gone by . . ." This is important, as the rule of fasting is prescribed for the day preceding the Śiwarātri (see 37, 1d: *upawāsa*). (Lubdhaka did, however, drink water (4, 5d) !)

In stanza 5, Canto 5, the author describes how the hunter (5b) "plucked the leaves of the bael (*maja*) tree (into which he had climbed for shelter), and without ceasing dropped them in the deep water" — where they happened to fall on a lingga of Śiwa "in the midst of the pool" (5c). Even though it was a natural lingga (*nora ginawe*), "not fashioned by human hands" (5c), this act counted as fulfilment of the rule found in 37, 3d: *makādi sēmi niñ majārja sulasih pañkara niñ añarcanē sira*, "First and foremost the tender shoots of the *maja* and *sulasih* should be the floral offerings of one who worships Him."

Finally, in stanza 6 of Canto 5 we are told that (6d) "he did not sleep the whole night through". In 37, 2d the rule is given that the four watches of the night must be observed in due order, and again this is emphasized in 37, 4d (*iñ sawēñi saka sayāma*).

This, then, represented Lubdhaka's unconscious observance of the Śīwarātri, and the following cantos describe what befell him as a result. We turn now to consider more closely the rules laid down at the end of the *kakawin* for those who wish to share in enjoying the benefits of this religious act. At this point we refer again to the work done by Hooykaas on Balinese texts containing references to the celebration of the Śīwarātri;¹ as we have shown above, the wording of parts of the Balinese texts shows such a remarkable likeness to our *kakawin* (Canto 37) that a genetic relationship between them seems plausible. As has been suggested before, further comparison with Indian sources will be needed in order to establish the historical connections.

The point which the text itself stresses is that even though one does not carry out the *brata* but simply remains awake on that one night of the year (37, 9a) one will certainly go to Śīwa's heaven and have happiness forever more (37, 9c), no matter what sort of person one may be (37, 9b). The god Śīwa, in his instruction on the Śīwarātri, emphasizes that the benefits of this observance exceed those of all other praiseworthy religious deeds (37, 7b). And so, on account of the supreme power (*paramaprabhāwa*) of the *brata* (37, 8d), no matter how heinous the sins one may have perpetrated during one's life (37, 7c; 8a & b), these and their ill effects are wiped away (37, 7d; 8c). The hunter is our exemplification of this.

The first requirement for the Śīwarātri concerns the night on which it is to be performed: only one night in the year is permissible, namely the fourteenth (*caturdaśī*) of the dark half (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*) of the month Māgha. Māgha is one of the twelve lunar months of the year, and coincides with our January-February. Such a month consists of 30 days (*tithi*). The "dark half" is the period of the waning of the moon, that is, from full moon to new moon, so that the 14th falls shortly before the appearance of the new moon, and hence represents the "darkest" time of the month. The month Māgha is the seventh of the ancient Javanese calendar, and as such was called *kapitu*.² This name should not be confused with the month Kapitu known in Java today, because the basis of calculation is quite different. Seeing that a lunation consists of 29/30 days, any given month may sometimes lack a 15th of the *kṛṣṇapakṣa* — perhaps this is the reason why the ritual is prescribed for the 14th. It will be seen that any month does not have a fixed position with regard to our solar year. It will also be seen that every

¹ Hooykaas, 1964, pp. 206-236.

² See Damais, 1951, esp. p. 11.

three (solar) years an extra month will need to be inserted. Days are reckoned as beginning at sunrise, i.e. about 6.00 a.m. Hence we find prescriptions for the day (*rahina*) and for the night (*wēni*, 37, 2a) of the Śīwarātri, i.e. for the 24 hours from 6.00 a.m. till 6.00 a.m. of the following day.

In the morning of the day on which the Śīwarātri is to be observed the first act required is (37, 1a) *anusmarana*: a collecting of the thoughts and a concentration of the spirit. After this one must go to the house of one's teacher and, with the appropriate expression of submission, ask his leave to carry out the observance (37, 1b). One then enters on a period of fasting and silence, and prepares oneself by bathing, blackening (cleaning?) the teeth and donning a new, clean jacket (37, 1c & d), for the performance of the *Śiwānalārcaṇa* (37, 1c), the worship of Śīwa's fire. What the lastmentioned entails exactly we cannot say.

The worship of the Lord cannot be commenced without the proper preparations; when the abovementioned have been completed during the day, one must pass the following hours of darkness in vigil — it is absolutely essential not to fall asleep. The exclusive object of worship is the lord Śīwa in heaven, seen in the form of the lingga (37, 2b). But one cannot approach the Lord without first giving honour to His servants — Kumāra (Skanda) and Gajendrawadana (Gaṇeśa) (37, 2c). The night is divided into four watches (*yāma*) of three hours each; the ritual pertaining to each watch must be duly carried out, without omitting anything (37, 2d).

Stanza 3 lists the plants which are to supply the floral offerings (*panēkar*) used in worship; here the correspondence of our *kakawin* with the Bal. Śīwarātri text published by Hooykaas is so close that there must be a direct link; as it seems improbable that the list of plant names given in the Balinese text would naturally comply with the demands of the OJ metre it seems plausible that the dependence is the other way round: the Balinese text seems to be directly based on the OJ *kakawin*. This is an interesting confirmation of the fact that our *kakawin* bears a strongly didactic character; apparently it has fulfilled its didactic function effectively, at least in Bali. Of the floral offerings the most important (*makādi*) are the *maja* and *sulasih*. The leaves of the *maja* (Skt. *bilva*) are especially associated with the worship of Śīwa. The *sulasih* (Skt. *tulasī*) is the holy basil, a small shrub venerated by Vaiṣṇavites,³ and noted for its aromatic fragrance.

³ Monier-Williams, 1956, p. 451.

Two items essential to the performance of the ritual are incense and lamps. All fragrant substances may be used for the incense (*dhūpa*), together with clarified butter (ghee, Skt. *ghṛta*), and lamps must be provided (37, 4a). Concerning the offerings of food (*caru*) to be brought, the primary dishes are *bubur* (rice-porridge) of two kinds: the first is mixed with *pēhan* (milk), and is thus of a white colour. The second is mixed with Javanese reddish-brown sugar (*gula Jawa*) and "green peas" (*kacang ijo*). It will be seen that the two dishes are of white and red respectively. Offerings (*sajen*) of white and red *bubur* are still well known in Java and are used on many occasions, e.g. *slametan*. Instead of ordinary milk, however, which is unobtainable, coconut-milk (*santēn*) is used; it is not altogether clear which will have been used in fifteenth-century Java. These offerings may be accompanied by any kind of fruit, drink or meat (37, 4c). The above rules, then, should be observed watch by watch for the whole night (37, 4d).

In order to stay awake it is permitted to play music, recite *kidun*, think over a *kakawin*, play *arja* or even to gamble — but the best occupation is to recite the story of the soul of Lubdhaka. This is most appropriate at this time and will result in one's reaching the highest heaven. The actual text for such a recitation is not specifically prescribed, but this *kakawin*, *Śiwarātrikalpa*, may well be implied by the author (37, 5a-d).

When the night of the performance is over one must next day present gifts to all and sundry — anyone who happens by should be given something, as far as you are able. A golden lingga of Śiwa should be given to the *mahādwiija* (great brahman(s)). Whom this represents is not clear: is it the officiating priest, who is thus paid for his services? And is the patron of the celebration supposed to be of princely descent, seeing that he can afford a golden lingga? This appears to be the case in Bali (37, 6a-c), where "the celebration of Śiva-rātri is the prerogative of ruling princes".⁴

Finally, one must remain awake during the day following the celebration, and not be negligent in anything one does (37, 6d). Having thus completed the *Śiwarātri* ritual, one can expect with confidence to be received directly into Śiwa's heaven when one dies, even though one may have committed any number of terrible sins during one's life. Such is the effect of the ritual, that it exceeds in merit sacrificing, doing asceticism and charitable deeds, not to mention making pilgrimages to holy pools. This, then, is the ritual as was taught by the god Śiwa to his wife Girindratanya.

⁴ Hooykaas, 1964, p. 200.

13. *Arrangement of the Edition*

The present edition and translation of the Old Javanese poem Śīwarātrikalpa is based on manuscript sources to be found in the Library of the University of Leiden¹ and the Central Museum in Djakarta. For the purposes of preparing the text and accompanying Critical Apparatus, we have given the mss. the following designations:

A	(Cod. Or. 3745)
B	(„ „ 5023 (1))
C	(„ „ 3616)
D	(„ „ 4297)
E	(„ „ 4299)
F	(„ „ 4300)
G	(Bat. Gen. 713)

A is a *lontar* manuscript with Balinese commentary; B is on *lontar*, and is the first work in the bundle which also contains the Nāgarakṛtāgama; C is on *lontar*. Apart from these three versions, which are complete and in good condition, D is on paper and contains many gaps; F, consisting of only 7 pp., runs up to Canto 3, 9c; and G was available only in the form of notes obtained from Zoetmulder. Cod. Or. 4296 and 4298 were not used, as they are copies (in Balinese script) of C and A respectively.² E is a romanization by Van der Tuuk of Cod. Or. 4296, with variants from 4298. Although this manuscript has been consulted for checking readings, it has been disregarded in the Critical Apparatus, as its variants are only secondary.

The main mss. (A, B, C and D) supply readings which are very similar to each other; no one ms. showed itself to be notably closer to a hypothetical original, and each one has contributed a share of the readings selected for the edition, as will be seen on inspection of the critical apparatus. One point should be noted, however: in a number of instances mss. B and C contained the same reading, and in other cases mss. A and D, but this was not considered sufficient basis for drawing up a diagram showing an ancestry of the mss. Further research is urgently needed into the Balinese tradition of manuscript copying,

¹ See Juynboll (1907) pp. 157-159 (under Lubdhaka).

² For a description of these MSS., see Pigeaud, 1968 (Vol. II), pp. 134, 254, 119, 209, 209 and 209 resp.

the time and place in which this was done as well as the function which it fulfilled. ms. G occupies a place apart from the others, because it seems to be highly corrupt as well as having many gaps; for this reason it contributed almost nothing to this edition.

Some notes on the transliteration and spelling used in this work are in order here, as the systems used in various publications are not always the same. The sound *ng* has been reproduced with *ṅ*; the *ś* of Sanskrit is here also *ś*, not *ç* as in older works. A circumflex accent (e.g. *-â-*) indicates that in accordance with the rules of *sandhi* two vowels on the word boundary have been contracted into one long one. Consonants which are doubled following *r* (e.g. *margga*, *pūruwa*) have been made single, as this has no effect on the metrical length of the syllable.

In this text *k* and *kh*, *q* and *dh* have been distinguished in the traditional way, even though the Balinese script of the mss. does not make the distinction.

In the past the particle *(a)n* and the definite article *(a)ṅ* have either been written separately or have been written as part of the preceding word. Neither of these procedures seemed to give full justice to the function of the particles, so by way of experiment we have adopted the method of attaching them to the preceding word by means of a hyphen (except in the cases of *iṅ*, *nin*, *nikan*, *siran*, *hanan*, *yan*, *yadin*, etc.). This should be seen as preliminary to further study of the use of these particles.

The readings offered by the mss. were found to be very similar, as will be seen from the comparatively few variant readings listed in the Critical Apparatus. Inconsistencies in spelling (e.g. *ś/ṣ*) have been eliminated, in order to bring out as clearly as possible the significant variants. The principles underlying the selection of a reading were (1) appropriateness of meaning in the context; (2) grammatical correctness, and (3) a rather subjective feeling of correctness within the stylistic framework of the poem. An editor already makes interpretative decisions when he takes the step of transliterating a text and dividing the letters into words, and must take responsibility for this. The scientific foundation of the work of the philologist in classical Indonesian languages has yet to be fully worked out and explained, so the reader must bear in mind the provisional nature of the above remarks.

APPENDIX

*The time of Mpu Tanakun*¹

The chronology of Old Javanese literature poses a number of problems, of which only a few have so far been solved. In the dating of *kakawin* the name of the patron of the poet, either the king himself or some other royal person, gives us some clues, providing the name is known elsewhere in history. But even if this is the case we should exercise caution, as the following will show. In many cases, however, neither the name of the poet nor that of his patron is mentioned, so that internal criticism of the poem is all we have to go by. Does comparison of the language of the poem with that of poems the date of origin of which is known to us, or with that of other dated Old Javanese sources, supply us with any clues as to its relative age? Or do other data, such as which metres are used or the poet's knowledge of Indian metres and his skill at using these, give an indication? This second method is less reliable and presupposes a knowledge of the development of Old Javanese which we do not as yet possess, and which requires a great deal of preparatory work. It is therefore based too much on subjective impressions, and can at best be used in support of conclusions drawn on the basis of other information. However, Poerbatjaraka's researches on the antiquity of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,² which strongly support the theory that this work was written during the Central Javanese period of Ancient Javanese history, are proof that this method can in very special cases offer valuable results. Finally there is the tradition as preserved in Bali and Java, which we can find in short works such as the *wēwatēkan*, of which Juynboll lists an example.³ In these the dates of the different poets are supplied in *sēṅkala*. The aforementioned work demonstrates only too clearly how much caution we should exercise in handling this material: according to it all the great works of *kakawin* literature, from the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the *Bhāratayuddha*, were written in

¹ This is an abridged translation of a paper given by Professor P. J. Zoetmulder entitled *Djaman Mpu Tanakun* on the occasion of the Konggres Ilmu Pengetahuan Nasional II (Second National Scientific Congress), 21-28th October, 1962, in Jogjakarta, Indonesia.

² Poerbatjaraka, 1926c and 1932.

³ Juynboll, 1911, p. 287 (see now also Pigeaud, 1968, p. 239).

the period between A.D. 1094 and 1157. *Mpu* Tantular, who we know was active as a writer under Hayam Wuruk, is assigned the *sĕnkala* 1031 (A.D. 1109), and so on.

This may suffice as an introduction to the present paper, in which we shall try to determine the period in which *mpu* Tanakuñ lived. We shall base ourselves on the assumption (for which there is no conclusive proof, but which may be considered as most probable) that there existed only one *mpu* Tanakuñ, and that the author of *Śiwarātrikalpa* and *Wṛttasañcaya* are one and the same person. In WS there are no direct references to the period in which he lived. The *mañgala* contains a dedication to Wāgīswarī, the goddess of speech, but no mention of the patron, while the four final stanzas give only the name of the poet and the usual apologies for the imperfections in his work. There is, however, a Balinese and a Javanese tradition — the latter probably based on the former — the Javanese version of which states: ... *nalika punika, ing pulo Djawi, ingkang nama karaton agĕng, nagari Kĕḍiri, nanging meh ngalih datĕng Pĕngging, pandjĕnĕnganipun Kusumawicitra*. Hence WS was written by Tanakuñ under the rule of Kĕḍiri, with Kusumawicitra as king, shortly before the hegemony passed to Pĕnggiñ. Poerbatjaraka summarizes his views about this as follows in *Kepustakaan Djawa*: "Tak usah kiranja saja bitjarakan pandjang-pandjang; keterangan itu adalah omong kosong belaka. Sebabnja, pertama, istana Kadiri tak pernah dipindahkan ke Pengging, kedua, radja Djawa pada djaman Kadiri tak ada jang bernama Kusumawitjitra. Mungkinkah karena belum diketemukan sadja?"⁴ Our provisional conclusion can be: it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions about *mpu* Tanakuñ's time from WS.

This is not the case with ŚR. Krom was the first to point out in a study on the dating of a number of *kakawin* that the mention of a certain Girindrawaśaja in the introduction of ŚR (1, 2d), and of a Girindranaya in the concluding stanzas (37, 10b), might indicate the dynasty which prided itself on descending from "Girindra's son, the first king of Singhasāri". Krom adds to this in his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*⁵ that the tradition concerning WS may contain a corrupt

⁴ Poerbatjaraka, 1952, pp. 34-35: "It is perhaps not necessary for me to discuss them at length, as this piece of information is pure nonsense. The reason for this is, in the first place, that the *kraton* of Kadiri was never transferred to Pengging and, in the second place, that among the kings of Java in the Kadiri period there was none called Kusumawitjitra. Could it be simply because we have yet to discover him?"

⁵ Krom, 1931, pp. 298-299.

reminiscence of the fall of Keḍiri and the transfer of the hegemony, not to Pēngiñ but to Siñhasari. According to this view Tanakuñ lived in the first decade of the thirteenth century, and the WS was written before and ŚR after 1222. Krom's hypothesis that Girindrawaṅsaja referred to the dynasty of Siñhasari was adopted by Poerbatjaraka in his *Kepustakaan Djawa*.⁶ The latter went even further and suggested that it was not the name of just *one* of the kings of the Siñhasari dynasty, but that of the founder himself. He says: "Pada permulaan kitab Lubdhaka ini empu Tan-Akung ada menjebutkan nama radja, prabu Girindrawangsadja. Inilah nama sebutan Ken Angrok . . ." ⁷ He goes further still, and considers that this is apparent not only from the name of the king in the *maṅgala*, but also from the story of ŚR itself, the contents of which he summarizes briefly in his book.

Poerbatjaraka believes that Tanakuñ chose this story to "mengambil hati Ken-Angrok", ⁸ as he puts it. According to the Pararaton the latter led a life of sin in his youth, killing and robbing, and chasing other men's wives. Now that he has become king, Tanakuñ, his court poet, writes a poem the meaning of which can be condensed into the following: no matter how evil one's way of life may have been, the possibility of escaping Yama's hell and being admitted to Śiwa's heaven always exists.

The above is a brief review of the theories with respect to the dating of Tanakuñ's work which have been put forward. Are we to conclude from these that the assumption that "djaman mpu Tanakung", the subject of the present treatise, was the beginning of the thirteenth century is the most probable and acceptable one?

If I may tell the truth, I have had a number of objections against this conclusion from the beginning. In the first place I have objections to Poerbatjaraka's ingenious attempt to interpret the story of Lubdhaka as an allegory on Ken Angrok. There are cases, it is true, in which the story of a *kakawin* probably contains an allusion to contemporary events or conditions. Berg ⁹ and Moens ¹⁰ have found such allusions to Erlaṅga in Arjunawiwāha, the former to experiences in his early life and his marriage, the latter to relationships in Erlaṅga's family and his ancestors. Berg has argued — we shall not go into the plausibility of the

⁶ Poerbatjaraka, 1952, p. 37.

⁷ Poerbatjaraka, 1952, p. 37: "at the beginning of this book Lubdhaka, mpu Tanakung does mention the name of the king, prabhu Girindrawaṅsaja. This was a predicate of Ken Angrok's."

⁸ Poerbatjaraka, 1952, pp. 37-38: "to please Ken Angrok."

⁹ Berg, 1938a.

¹⁰ Moens, 1950-1951.

argument here — that the Bhāratayuddha alludes to a civil war or even a fraternal conflict during Jayabhaya's lifetime.¹¹ It is therefore tempting to suspect similar things of other *kakawin* as well. However, I find it difficult to believe that such an attempt was successful in the case of ŚR. Is it possible that a court poet would have selected a story which existed in India about the all-subduing purifying power of the worship of Śiwa, even for someone belonging, by caste and profession, to the most impure and sinful of creatures, in order to say to his king in fairly plain terms: no matter how many evil deeds Your Majesty may have committed in his early life, salvation is still possible? To do so when he himself says in his *maṅgala* that it is the aim of his poem that the person for whom he is writing it may enjoy the honour and respect of his subjects in peace and happiness (*maṅgēh donya rahaywa san panikēlan tanah anulusa katwan ing prajā*). Considering the *kraton* environment of those days and the courtier's relationship to the king as we must imagine this to have been at the period, the writing of an "allegory" with that implication seems to me to be an impossibility. It would have been a very ill-chosen means of "mentjari muka pada Ken Angrok".¹²

We should therefore like to drop the explanation of the tale of ŚR as suggested by Poerbatjaraka. It was only put forward, however, in support of another theory. The thesis itself, namely that Tanakuñ wrote his poem for Raṅga Rājasa, is not based on it and does not therefore collapse with it. These are my objections to the thesis itself:

The first is one relating to what we termed above internal criticism. I have always found it difficult to consider the language of ŚR as almost contemporaneous with that of the *kakawin* of the Keḍiri period. It has always impressed me as being more modern. It is beyond our scope to quote the evidence in favour of this. And in view of the caution which should be observed when acting on an impression of this kind, I do not wish to place undue emphasis on this objection.

The second concerns the essence of the argument itself, however, viz. the name mentioned in the introduction, Girīndrawaṅśaja. Krom also mentions Girīndratanya in Canto 37, but he is wrong in looking for a connection between this and the ruling monarch, as the name refers in a perfectly normal way to Śiwa's spouse. Girīndrawaṅśaja Krom considers as referring to the dynasty of Siṅhasari, as it claims to have descended from Girīndra's son, Ken Añrok.¹³ This is plausible,

¹¹ Berg, 1938b, pp. 62-63.

¹² Poerbatjaraka, 1952, p. 38: "to seek praise from Ken Angrok."

¹³ Krom, 1931, p. 298.

as Girīndrawaṇśaja means: "scion of the line of Girīndra". Poerbatjaraka says that Girīndra is a name for Ken Aṅrok. This statement is not quite convincing, as Ken Aṅrok is Girīndra's son. He is mentioned as such various times in the Nāgarakṛtāgama: 40, 1b *tanaya tēkap Śrī Girīndra*; 40, 2c *Śrī Girīndrātmaja*; 40, 5a *Śrī Girīndrātmasūnu*. It does not therefore necessarily follow that the name Girīndrawaṇśaja, "Scion of the line of Girīndra", refers to Ken Aṅrok himself. Any descendant of Girīndra's line may be meant, and probably *not* Ken Aṅrok himself at all, as he is known as Girīndra's *son*. Was it another king of the Siṅhasari dynasty then? This is just as unlikely. For "the line of the lord of the mountain", or possibly "the line of the lords of the mountain" does not necessarily denote the kings of Siṅhasari. It is not probable that the Śailendras are meant here. But should we perhaps take into account the possibility that the dynasty which ruled at the end of the Majapahit period, all of the kings of which bore the dynastic name of Girīndrawarddhana, is meant?

The name Girīndrawaṇśaja was of vital importance in establishing the time in which Tanakuṇ lived. It is no longer certain to whom it refers. And the end of the 15th century is just as worthy of our consideration as the beginning of the 13th century, not to mention the possibility of the existence of a third Girīndrawaṇśa. Are we to conclude our investigation on this note of uncertainty? Not yet, for there is one more thing which remains to be done: to examine the passage in which Girīndrawaṇśaja is mentioned in ŚR. This reads as follows:

*maṅgēh donya rahaywa saṅ panikēlan tanah anulusa katwaṅ ing prajā
tan lyan śry ādisuraprabhāwa sira bhūpati saphala girīndrawaṇśaja.*

This informs us that the king for whom Tanakuṇ wrote his work (*saṅ panikēlan tanah*) is none other than Śrī Ādisuraprabhāwa, a ruler who is a "worthy scion of the Girīndra dynasty". Hence the name of the ruler is not Girīndrawaṇśaja but *Śrī Ādisuraprabhāwa*. Now we find in the Pamintihan charter (discovered in Sēṇḍaṅ Sēdati, to the south of Bojonēgoro) as the name of the issuing ruler king Śrī Siṅhawikramawarddhana, whose childhood name (*garbhaprasūtināma*) was *dyah Suraprabhāwa*. The charter was issued in 1473 (śaka 1395).¹⁴ His childhood name and *abhiṣeka* name are immediately followed by the epithet *giripatiprasūtabhūpatiketubhūta*. *Giripatiprasūta* means "descendant(s), family of the Lord of the Mountain"; *ketu*, the usual meaning of which is "standard" or "banner", may also mean "leader", "most

¹⁴ See *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1922-1923.

prominent". *Giripatiprasūtabhūpatiketubhūta* may therefore be rendered with "he who is a leader (is one of the foremost) of the kings of the line of the Lord of the Mountain". I think that there can be little doubt that the *śrī ādisuraprabhāwa*, a worthy scion of the line of the Lord of the Mountain (*girindra*), of the introduction to ŚR is one and the same person as *dyah* Suraprabhāwa, prominent among the royal descendants of the Lord of the Mountain (*giripati*). We have therefore discovered Tanakuṇ's patron, to whom he dedicated his work, and have at the same time established that the approximate time in which the poem was written was the third quarter of the 15th century. As yet it is difficult to find out where it was written, because there is still a great deal of uncertainty about the later history of Majapahit. Siṅhawikramawardhana can probably be equated with Bhre Paṇḍan-Salas, who was king of Tumapël and became *prabhu* of Majapahit in 1466, but was forced to leave the *kraton* in 1468. In the inscription of 1473 we read that he still called himself Jaṅgala-Kaḍiri-Yawabhumy-ekādhipa (sole ruler) at that time. Krom, in agreement with Muusses, believes that he is the king who died in Daha in 1474.¹⁵ It is not certain whether Tanakuṇ wrote his poem when *dyah* Suraprabhāwa had already assumed the consecration name Śrī Siṅhawikramawardhana. He may well have done so before that time, as we know that it was by no means always the ruling sovereign who was the patron of the authors of *kakawin*. It would be an impossible task to try to make a choice between Tumapël, Majapahit, Keḍiri (Daha), or even another place not mentioned in the few existing sources, as residence of Śrī Suraprabhāwa. We must be satisfied with what we have found out, viz. that the period of *mpu* Tanakuṇ's poetic activity coincided with the final days of Majapahit. Here we have a *kakawin*, then, which is about a hundred years later than the most recently dated *kakawin*, the works of *mpu* Tantular written during Hayam Wuruk's reign. The comparatively modern impression created by the language is not opposed to this conclusion. On the other hand it is remarkable to see how faithfully the *kakawin* tradition has been preserved and how slowly it changed in the course of time. It was to be carried on in Bali. If we adhere to the assumption that there existed only one poet by the name of *mpu* Tanakuṇ — for the time being this appears to be the most reasonable — then the *Wṛttasañcaya* or manual on metrics dates back to about the same period. I do not think that the language of WS is in opposition

¹⁵ Krom, 1931, p. 450.

to this. The brevity of the work — it consists of no more than 112 stanzas — and its special character as a handbook on metrics make it even more difficult than otherwise to arrive at adequately founded conclusions. May we put forward the tentative suggestion that the late date of WS could explain why there is no trace of its influence on any of the *kakawin* written during the heydays of literary activity? It deals with a large number of metres which we never find used in *kakawin*, while some of the most common metres are not found in it at all. The WS calls itself an imitation of an Indian work on metrics, the *Piṅgala-śāstra*, and does, in fact, conform closely to the Indian tradition. But the OJ tradition had long since deviated from it in some respects and built up a *kakawin* tradition of its own. It is this tradition, recorded in the great, regularly read literary works, which was later followed in Bali, and not the tradition of which WS is the representative in Java. But it is worth-while observing how great the influence of India was even in the latter days of Majapahit.

We shall conclude this paper with one more remark which belongs very much to the realm of speculation. We saw how the Javanese tradition in Bali designated the period of Tanakuñ and his WS as that of the rule of king Kusumawicitra of Keḍiri, not long before the hegemony passed from this realm to Pěngiñ. Is it possible that this contains a vague and confused memory of an actual historical event, hidden beneath the “omong kosong belaka”?¹⁶ Apparently it is to be inferred from the uncertain and confused data concerning the latter half of the fifteenth century that Daha (Kěḍiri) again occupied an important position at this time. We shall confine ourselves to drawing attention to the extraordinary title found in a charter of 1486:¹⁷ “king of Śrī Wilwatikta, Daha, Jaṅgala and Kěḍiri”, and to the possibility of Majapahit’s having been conquered from Daha at that time. As yet it remains a matter of conjecture what the situation was precisely. Pěngiñ is situated in the neighbourhood of present-day Surakarta and is used interchangeably with Pajañ, which took over the hegemony from Demak in the middle of the 16th century. Is it possible, then, that with the communication that Tanakuñ wrote his literary work shortly before the power was transferred from Kěḍiri to Pěngiñ is meant: shortly before the power of East Java was transferred to Central Java? In that case the enigmatic statement of a distant tradition would not be so far from the truth after all.

¹⁶ “pure nonsense.”

¹⁷ See Krom, 1931, pp. 450-451.

ŚIWARĀTRIKALPA

Om! Awighnam astu.

Canto 1. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ - ~ / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - ~ - / ~ ☐

1. sañ hyañ niñ hyañ amūrti niṣkala sirāti-kinēñēp in akabwatan lañö
sthūlākāra sira pratiṣṭhita hanēñ hṛdayakamalamadhya nityaśa
dhyāna mwañ stuti kūṭamantra japa mudra linēkasakēñ in samañkana
ñhiñ pinrih-prih i citta ni ñhulun anugrahana tulusa digjayēñ lañö
2. wruh ñwañ niṣphala niñ mañö jēñēk alañlañ i kalañēñ ikañ pasir wukir
mañke ñwañ kumawih makīrtya kakawin kumawaśa mamarantyakēñ wuwus
mañgēh donya rahaywa sañ panikēlan tanah anulusa katwañ in prajā
tan lyan śry Ādi-Suraprabhāwa sira bhūpati saphala 'Girīndrawaṇśaja
3. ndān dūra-n ñwañ ateki yan katēkanāñracana wuwus arūm pralāpita
āpan de ny atipiñgiñ i ñwañ in apan katēkana sakinañptyan in mañö
nāntēñ pwēki kēdö taman wuruñ anēmwakēna paramahāsyā niñ para
ñhiñ tuñgal pinalar malar wēnaña sādhana niñ umusira-ñ niraśraya

Canto 2. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ - ~ / ~ ~ - / - - ~ / - - ~ / ☐

1. nāhan tambayan in kathā taliñanēñ de sañ widagdhēñ lañö
sambaddhanya hanañ niṣāda winuwus khyāti-ñ haran Lubdhaka
sthityāñher i pucak nikañ hacala śobhātyanta rāmyālañö
nora-ñ sañśaya kewalāsukha-sukhan lāwan swabhāryātmaja

Canto 1.

1. (b) pratiṣṭata B; hana riñ (instead of ta hanēñ) G; (d) pindrih ACF; first half of line damaged in G.
2. (a) kalēñēñan in pasirukir D; sakalēñēñ in G; (b) kumawī C; huwus D.
3. (a) wwañ G; pralāpita B; (b) ahipiñgiñ AF, atimiñgiñ B; ñwañ apa yan C; (c) niñ warah ACF, niñ wara B.

Canto 2.

1. (a) tēmbayan AF, tambeyan C; mañö C; (b) khyātyāñaran B, khyatyāñaran D; (c) -āntyanta AF, -ānatyanta C; (d) liwan BC, liwat D.

Notes to 1,1 and 2,1; see p.146.

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE NIGHT OF ŚĪWA

Hail! May there be no hindrance.

Canto 1.

1. To the God of Gods in His immaterial form does one accomplished
in poetic arts direct his inmost thoughts;
In material form He is everlastingly enthroned in the midst of the
heart-lotus.
One practises meditation, sings songs of praise, repeats the highest
religious formula, murmurs prayers, and forms gestures of
the hands at this stage,
Whereas all that my heart is striving for is to be granted to go on
to world-conquest in Beauty.
2. I know how fruitless my musing was while I wandered absorbed
in the beauties of shore and mountain,
So I now aspire to win the merit of writing a *kakawin*, and make
bold to arrange my words in order.
Its aim will be to ensure that he over whom poets break their pens
in two may be prosperous, and that he may continue to be
honoured by his subjects,
For he is none other than Śrī Ādi-Surabrahmā, a king who is
worthy to be a scion of the line of Girindra.
3. But I myself am far from being endowed with the talent of com-
posing sweet-sounding words in verse,
For how could I achieve all that a poet longs for, exceedingly dull
as I am?
Thus indeed I cannot but incur the utmost derision of others;
My one hope, however, is that this may succeed in being an aid
in my search for the Absolute.

Canto 2.

1. Here begins the tale to which those discerning in the poetic arts
should lend their ear —
The story runs that there was once a hunter, and it is said that
he was known by the name of Lubdhaka.
He always dwelt among the mountain peaks, in sublime, charming
and delightful surroundings,
And, free from troubles, he simply enjoyed himself there with wife
and children.

2. sañkan-sañkan alit taman hanañ ulah dharmēriya mwañ yaśa
añhiñ lot maburū gawaynya mamati-n moñ wēk gaja mwañ warak
salwir niñ mṛga kapwa śirṇa rinarahnya-n tan biśāpet hurip
yekātah pañiwōnya riñ tanaya lāwan dāra len-len kadañ
3. prāpta-n kāla caturdaśiñ kapitu kṛṣṇātruh-truh ande lañö
ñkā mañkat maburū riñ eñjiñ arasuk kṛṣṇāmbārakañcuga
sēnnāddhēñ upakāra pañharaṇa riñ burwan huwus sañgēpan
ñkā-n lampah ta ya tuñga-tuñgal amawa-n hrū len larasnyēñ tañan
4. luñhā lampah ikāñawetan aṇalor rāmya-n lurah koñkulan
tāman maṇḍala parhyañan pañalusan katyāgan ande lēñöñ
thanyāgōñ suku niñ gunuñ-gunuñ anekātanduran tūt hiriñ
lwah göñ-göñ tumēḍun sakēñ wukir anak tusnyāñēñb tanduran
5. deśa pwēki kunēñ katuñkulan i sor muñgwiñ slēwañ niñ gēgēr
nyāśanyārja tinon haṭēp rahab i rañkañnyālamuk katruhan
lumrāñlandēñ ikañ kukus malimunan sampun mamiśrēñ tawañ
höb niñ wāñḍira tañ bale kinalakah pintēñ pagoṣṭhyān sadā
6. kilyanyēki gēgēr-gēgēr pasawahanyākṛēp galēñnyālaris
kubwanyārñēb adanta-danta tirisanyākweh paḍāsoñ limut
kuntul mör kumēḍap-kēḍap lēyēp adoh muñgwiñ tēñah niñ rēmēñ
mukṣāmiśra lawan limut kahiḍēpanyāpan tēlas tan katon
7. sañḍiñnyēki kadewagurwan añuñan lwah göñ bañunyādalēm
dwāranyāñililān wiśuddha maruhur tañ bapra pūrñālaris
tañjuñ campaka bāṇa nāgakusuma mrik mār sēkarnyāñēḍēñ
kapwātūt lalayan binañjar alaño kumbañ humuñ tan pēgat

2. (b) akiñ G; gajā C, gajah D; (c) rinurahnya-n D; -ānep turip B, -āmet CDG; (d) gara G.
3. (b) ñkā-n BC; kañcaga G; (c) sōñāddhēñ AF, sōñnāddhēñ C.
4. (a) -petan G; (b) paryyañan ACDF; pañulusan C; lañö D; (c) wanyā-C, ṣanyā- D; (d) -ñhēlēb B, -hēlēb D, -rēñēb G.
5. (a) deśāpēki ABDF; (b) -akēñ (instead of haṭēp) B; (d) kibalakah G.
6. (b) aḍanta-ḍanta BC; (c) mar G; kumēḍap-mēḍap B, -hēḍap G.

Note to 2,4; see p.146.

2. From the time of his earliest youth he had never observed the moral law or acquired religious merit,
But rather had always engaged in hunting, killing the tiger, boar, elephant and rhinoceros.
He had killed all kinds of wild animals, hunting them down so that they could not escape with their lives;
This then was his means of providing for his children, his wife, and sundry other relatives.
3. The fourteenth day of the dark half of the seventh month had arrived, bringing the rainy weather which arouses poetic feelings.
On that day he set forth in the morning to hunt, wearing a hunter's jacket of dark(-blue) cloth.
When he was equipped with the gear for hunting game, and all was ready,
Then he set out all alone, carrying his bow and arrows in his hand.
4. His journey took him to the north-east, where the ravines were lovely to look down into;
The gardens, ring-communities, sanctuaries, retreats and hermitages aroused his wonder.
There lay large fields at the foot of the mountains, with crops of many kinds growing along the slopes;
A large river descended from the hills, its stream irrigating the crops.
5. Now there was a village which he also viewed from above, lying below in a valley between the ridges.
Its buildings were fine to behold, while the *lalan* roofs of the pavilions were veiled in the drizzling rain.
Wisps of dark smoke stretched far, trailing away in the sky,
And in the shelter of a banyan tree stood the hall, roofed with rushes, always the scene of many deliberations.
6. To the west of this were mountain ridges covered with rice-fields, their dikes running sharp and clear.
The gardens were close together and laid out in rows, and the many coconut palms were all shaded by mist.
A heron's wings glistened as it flew along, faintly visible in the distance in the midst of the clouds;
Then it disappeared, apparently merging with the mist, for it was finally lost from view.
7. To the side of this there was a monastery overlooking a large river, the waters of which were deep;
Its portal stood out pure and clean, and the earthen wall was high, running around it without a break.
The *tanjun*, *campaka*, *bāṇa* and *nāgakusuma* trees spread a soft fragrance, as their flowers were in full bloom,
And all along the wall they stood, beautifully arranged in rows, the bees humming all the while.

8. muṅgwiñ jronya mahantēn arja hinēduk sāksāt gēlar niñ tulis
luñ niñ jañgha lume ri lambaṅ awilēt kambaṅ sugandhâwaṅi
aglar tañ sēkar in kataṅga ri hatēpnyâpan rurū kāninan
himpēr dyah masusup-susup gēluṅan aṅde harṣa niñ wwai mulat
9. karṇah lornya payajñan arsik i natarnyâtaṇḍēs aśryâhijo
tuñkub-tuñkub ikâruhur kalamukan de niñ himârantayan
śūnyânhiñ pananiñ nikañ hēpiñ aśabdânhr̥ik swaranyâlâlēh
śaṅkâsrañ karēñō masan̄ghyani lawan ghaṇṭātri tan pantara.

Canto 3. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - ~ - / ~ ~

1. dharmâgōñ riñ usāna koñjuk asamīpa walahar asamun tikun hawan
runtuh śirṇa tikañ supit makara tan kahuniña lalayanya meh rēbah
kadyânēmbih ikañ cawintēn asaput mukha winilēt i pañjrah in latā
lwir śokāñlih atirikañ wiwarapāla maguliñan akuṇḍah in lēmah
2. bwat-dhantēn ri natarnya śirṇa makihū wañunan ika gīgal waneh awuk
rigrig runtuh atēpnya tan patuluñan saka nika tumayuñ mariñguñan
aṅras twas pakatonan in wukiran adyah aṅadēg-adēg aṅdēlō tawañ
himpēr mājarakēn laranya winiwarja taya linawad in mahas mañō
3. prāsādâruhur anjēlag puca-pucaknya pinakapamarantyan in sukēt
pāśwanyēki huwus sayat katuwuhan prih atisāya rumēmbay anwañi
sakweh niñ pariwarta sampun ananā tēkap i pawilēt in latāsaliṭ
ñhiñ sañ hyaṅ ri dalēm subaddha mapagēh mañadēg i tēnah in prañālaka

8. (a) hēlar niñ tulis B; (b) mēmbaṅ (instead of kambaṅ) BC; (c) lurū B;
(d) dwah G.
9. (a) ṅkānē (instead of karṇah) C, parṇah G; (b) ika luhur D; -ranteyan C;
(d) ghaṇṭātri AF.

Canto 3.

1. (a) koñjāk B; wahalar B; (c) -āñēmbēh B; ika B; laṭa ACF; (d) -phāla
AF, wwawara- G; akuṇḍaṅ C.
2. (b) śaka ABDF; (c) hukiran BG; aṅdēlēñ BD, aṅdalē G.
3. (b) -ēka D; (c) pariwarttha all MSS.; anabha G.

Note to 3, 2d; see p. 146.

8. Within there were elegant pavilions roofed with *aren* fibre, like the scene in a painting;
The tender shoots of the *jañgha* spilling freely over the eaves were twined together, and its flowers were sweetly fragrant.
The petals of the *katānga* were sprinkled over the roofs, for they had fallen in the wind,
Like maidens with flowers arranged in their hair, delighting those who saw them.
9. On the northern side were well-kept places for offerings in their bare courtyard, bright and green;
The shrines were lofty and were obscured by wreaths of morning mist.
All was still except for the crying of the tree-beetles; the sound of their shrill voices moved one's heart;
The penetrating note of the conch could be heard, loud and continuous, sounding in unison with the prayer-bells.

Canto 3.

1. A great temple-complex from ancient times rose near a mountain stream, and the path there was lonely.
The curved trunks of the water-elephants had fallen and crumbled, and for lack of care its wall had almost tumbled down.
The monster-heads seemed to be weeping as their covered faces were overgrown with a profusion of creepers,
And as though sad and weary the temple-guardians were lying rolled over flat on the ground.
2. The pavilions in its courtyard were in ruins; some of the buildings were now only wreckage, while others were rotting away;
Their roofs were broken and had fallen in, and beyond repair their pillars stood askew, swaying back and forth.
Heart-rending was the spectacle of the reliefs; young maidens were standing gazing skywards,
As if proclaiming their grief at being abandoned and no more visited by wandering poets.
3. The tower-temple soared on high, and its pinnacles served as a gathering-place for weeds;
The sides were cracked, overgrown by a shady fig-tree which spread luxuriantly.
All the subordinate figures were cracked by a fearsome tangle of vines,
And only the main deity within was immovably in place, standing firm in the centre of its pedestal.

4. akweh nyāśa huwus rusak sahana niñ makara katutupan ndatan hili mañkā-ñ bwat-rawi sopacāra nika pūrwaka sama-sama tan kadi-ñ lagi tistis tan hana wurya-wuryan in umampira ri nata-natar nikāsamun kēmbaṇ niñ kamuniñ rurū manarasah sumawur inupēt in madhubrata
5. lor wetanya taman-taman wahu winahwan araras anisi twas in mulat hambal-hambal ikañ hawan rinupit in kayu kanaka lawan tahēn puriñ jrah tañ sarwa sēkar sugandha manēḍēñ sahana nika samānwam in wayah aṇhiñ lot paran in lumampah ahaññ-ahaññ adulu-dulur lawan priya
6. duñhus niñ parañan patāni jamur asmu kasēnēt asamīpa pañcuran aṇlandōñ aputih bañunya tumēḍun kakirañan anamar kuwuñ-kuwuñ adrēs tus nika nirmalānalaga piñgir ika piḍaḍa rājasānēḍēñ wwadnyāket mañasut karañ kalamukan lumut aṇēlab-ēlab ywa kombakan
7. himbañ-himbañ ikañ parañ wway umijil tinali-tali tinuntun in talai munyāsantun ikañ taluktak anameni pasahuran i kuñkañ in paruñ rēmbēs-rēmbēs atis ri sor niki pakis bañ anarasah awor pakis wilis pañpuñ pañgaga len pacar wukir akēmbaṇ anēḍēñ i samīpa niñ rēṇēk
8. honya-ñ wwe kumicir sakē rēñat ikañ parañ apiñit aṇambwakēñ lañō arjārcēp makaranya sampun inukir majaja-jajar amētwakēñ raras tūsanyāhniñ atuṇḍa-tuṇḍa pinarigy arēja rinacanāmañun lañō tīranyāñjrah aśoka tañjuñ anēḍēñ surabhi sēkar ikāglar in bañu
9. paṇḍan wwañ mañuḍoḍa riñ karañ awarṇa siwuhēñ asaput-saput hima pintēñ tēky aharēp lawad-lawadēñ in gērēh adulura his nikañ riris lwir śoka-n pañure puḍak tinulisan kakawin ulih in aṇdadak-dadak aśrī ṅganya paranti niñ kawi mahas-mahas anikēt-ikēt palambaña

4. (a) datan all MSS.; (b) mañka-ñ B; pūrwaha C; (c) amampira B; nathawar G; (d) kusumā (instead of kamuniñ) C, kaniñ kamuniñ G; sumahur AFG.
5. (c) ṇjrah BC; manēḍōñ ADF; (d) haññ maniliba hadulur G.
6. (a) sēñetan asamīpa AF; (b) aṇlandēñ maputih B, aṇlandēñ (ñ)aputih CDF; (c) adrēs nika B; rarasā- G.
7. (a) paras G; tinuñjun B; tatalaṇ G; (b) saw-twa niñ (altered from: sam-tu nikañ) (instead of -santun ikañ) B; paru G; (d) rēñēb B, rēṇēb C.
8. (a) hunya B; we B; kumucur B; sakēñ ADF; (b) -ācēp ACF, -āccēp B; (c) yāśanyā nika (instead of tūsanyāhniñ) B; (d) tīrāh- B, tīrah- D; surabi ACF; i bañu G.
9. (a) aharēp-harēp lawadēñ in C; (c) pañurai A, pañurah G; F ends here; (d) ganya D; maranti A; palambañan B.

Notes to 3, 4c and 4d; see p. 146.

4. Many of the buildings had fallen in ruins, and all the spouts were choked and flowed no more;
Likewise the pool and its original appointments were none of them in their former condition.
The scene was still, without a trace of anyone coming to visit the deserted courtyards;
The blossoms of the *kamuniñ* trees, dropping and spreading themselves about, were scolded by the buzzing bees.
5. To the north-east were freshly tended gardens, delighting and refreshing the heart of the beholder;
The steps in the path were overgrown by *kanaka* trees and croton bushes.
All around there were many kinds of fragrant flowers, all of them blossoming and having the freshness of youth;
This alone was a favourite refuge for people running away with a sweetheart.
6. On the steep, rocky slopes pavilions shaped like mushrooms seemed to be hidden, standing in the neighbourhood of springs;
The water descended in thin, clear streams, and lit by the rays of the sun looked like a rainbow.
The current ran swift and pure, forming a little lake, and along its banks there stood *piḍaḍa* and *rājasa* trees in bloom;
The twisted roots of the trees covered the rocks overgrown with plants, which waved to and fro as the water washed over them.
7. Water came out along the sides of the rocks in rivulets, channelled through bamboo pipes.
Musical water-mills played hesitantly, accompanying the conversations of the frogs in the crevices.
Where the water seeped coolly downward below this there spread red ferns mixed with green;
There were *pañpun*, *pañgaga* and mountain *pacar* trees in full bloom along the verges of the marsh.
8. There was water gushing from the cracks in the rocks, creating a mysterious and beautiful effect.
There were impressive spouts carved out in rows, inspiring feelings of delight.
The stream was limpid, tumbling over ledges faced with splendidly ornamented stonework, making a lovely sight;
On the banks spread *aśoka* and *tañjun* trees in full bloom, and flowers of the *surabhi* floated on the surface.
9. *Pañdan-urwan* trees hung down over the rocks, with an air of sadness, quite wrapped in the mist.
How they longed to be visited by the thunder, which would bring with it the rushing of the rain!
As if downhearted they let their petals droop, petals on which someone had jotted down some poetry in a moment of inspiration;
For this was admirable as a place for a wandering poet to link together his verses.

10. yapwan māsa ri liṅsir iṅ rawi lañönya wahu-wahu sirēm kasañhuban
wwantēn tēki rērēb-rērēbnya sumaput-saput awētu riris riṅ ambara
añras twas swara niṅ kalañkyañ umuniṅ tawañ amala-malar drēs iṅ jawuh
lwir mājar lara niṅ kalañwan i gatinya taya linawad iṅ macañkrama
11. lilātūt hiriṅ iṅ wukir lari nikâlâlēh umulati rāmya niṅ pasir
koñañ mātra katuñkulan bañu nikañ jaladhi kadi mawor lawan lañit
kaywanyâjajar añjēlag ri tēpi niṅ pasisi sinaput iṅ lamad-lamad
warşâdrēs manisih kuwuñ-kuwuñ iṅ ambara kadi manaruh trañ iṅ rawi
12. nūṣa pwēki lēyēp katon saka ri dohnya wahu-wahu tinampēk iṅ jawuh
muḡṣāmīśra lawan rēmēñ kasaputan hima namu-namu tan kawaspadan
añhiṅ tēki larap nikañ kilat aganti kumēḡap i sahiñan iṅ mulat
lāwan śabda nikañ gērēh masahuran tuna-tuna karēñö nirantara
13. honyēkañ bhanawânēñah ri tēlēñ iṅ jalanidhi kadi muḡṣahēñ tawañ
tapwan waspada cēt hilañ kawulatan sakarēñan i kēñar nikañ rawi
prāpta-ñ truh wēkasan samar-samar i doh nika mañēḡap-ēḡap lamuk-lamuk
rēp muḡṣēñ wēkasan hilañ ri pētēñ iṅ limut anawēñi teja niṅ rawi

Canto 4. - - - / - ~ - / - ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ - - / - ~ ~ / ~ ~

1. akweh tiñkah nikañ koñkulan adawa yadin warnan lañē nika
tēkwan lampah nikañ Lubdhaka tēlas alaris kweh rāmya kalalu
sampun prāptērikañ kānana giri pasabhān iṅ satwa sakala
atyantēñ durgamāmānuṣa kahiḡēpan iky añde giri-girin

10. (a) mā (instead of māsa) D; (c) hawañ amala-mala G; (d) lañē (instead of lara) B.
11. (a) lilānut G.
12. (a) samar i AG, samara D; linampēk B; (b) namu-nana C; (c) sihiñhan DG; (d) pasahuran A.
13. (a) unyekañ CD; muḡṣahiñ G; (c) wruh G; samar saka ri C, sama-samar i D; (d) mūḡṣaṅ A, muḡṣah CG, mukpañ D.

Canto 4.

1. (a) kokulan D; (b) kalaluñ C, kalalun G; (c) sēkalā B; (d) antyantēñ C.

10. But when the time had come for the sun to sink, its splendour
would begin to fade, dimmed by the haze;
Then there would be soft clouds covering the sky and bringing
forth a gentle rain.
The calls of the *kalāṅkyaṇ*, crying out in the sky in their deep-felt
longing for a heavy downpour, would touch one's heart,
Seeming to tell of the sorrow of nature at not being visited by the
wanderer.
11. And so he strolled happily on along the mountain-side viewing the
charms of the seashore;
Only faintly could he see the waters of the sea below, seeming to
merge with the heavens.
A row of trees stood out along the water's edge, wrapped in a
blanket of fog;
The heavy rain was flanked by a rainbow in the sky which seemed
to be vying with the brightness of the sun.
12. Now an island, dimly visible in the distance, was just being
engulfed by the rain;
It disappeared, lost in the clouds and enveloped in mist, growing
obscurer till finally blotted out.
Now there were only flashes of lightning, flickering now and then
on the horizon,
And the muffled sound of thunder echoing back and forth un-
ceasingly.
13. There was a ship heading for the open sea, as if about to disappear
into the sky —
No longer clear, then all at once gone, it appeared again for a
moment in the rays of the sun.
When the rain arrived it finally faded in the distance, still glinting
faintly now and then;
Then it vanished for good, and was lost in the gloom of the mists
which were veiling the glow of the sun.

Canto 4.

1. Many were the things to be seen below, but it would take too long
to describe their beauties,
And moreover Lubdhaka had already gone on his way, and had
passed many pleasant sights.
He had reached the mountain forests which were frequented by
all kinds of animals,
And were exceedingly wild; they looked so uncanny that they made
one shudder.

2. *ñkā*-n maṇḍeḡ sakṣaṇādan śarawara mamaharja-ñ cāpa winatēk maṅgēh buddhinya yan tan hana luputa nikañ burwan sakapurug tuṣṭāmbēknya-n lihat rāmya niñ acala sukēt niky ardha marēṇēb māwas kweh niñ mṛgāñanti hiḍēp ika tayāsandeha ri hati
3. sampunya-n mañkanēdran ta ya mañusi pṛṇah niñ burwan apupul mādoḥ lampah nika priṅga niñ acala jurañ sēñkanya kahasan tātan wwantēn tapak niñ mṛga katēmu tēkapnyā tan hana katon epw ambēknyāpa tan mañkana gati karuhun denyāburu-buru
4. mañkin-mañkin lēpas lampah ika mañulati burwan tar anēmu wet niñ sowenya mamriḥ bhramita ya wēkasan mañlih kasakitan lud wēlkañ tan pañan nūni ya saka riñ umah madhyāhna kalalu tan wriñ deyanya yan mantuka mapa ta mēne tañ bhukti tēmuneñ
5. nāhan liñnyē dalēm twas karaṇa nika muwah luñhā mriḥ anusup pintēn wwantēn patañ yojana lari nika tan panwan mṛga siki mālah mañke surup niñ dinakara dadi tāmañgih raṇu magōñ ñkāñēkiñ Lubdhakātīrtha marahup añinum wway śīta malaris
6. tēkwān buddhinya mahyun mañinēpa rikanāñ tīrthātiwimala towin tan māsa niñ mantuka ri pētēñ ikañ mārgārdha maruṣit lāwan pañgil tiki-n wwantēna mṛga mañinum wway prāptaha mēne nā cittanyē dalēm twas dadi linarisakēnyādan pakejēpan

Canto 5. ◡ ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ ◡ / - ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ ◡ / - ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ ◡ / - ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡

1. atha ri surup nikañ rawi tahēnya kapwa hatur aṅgēgēs makētēran paḍa masaput-saput hima yayākēmūl-kēmūl atis katampēkan ēbun swara ni cucurnya manda karēñō tinūt ni panañis nikañ taḍah-asih rasa pējahā yatan waluya niñ wulan matuluñē gatinya kalaran

2. (a) mamahārja cāpa AB; (c) sukēk C; nityardha D; marēṇēk B.
3. (a) ñusi C; ni D; apupul - 4a burwan is missing in BC; (c) tampak D.
4. (b) wet ni D; (c) wlōkañ A; madhyatna B, madyana G; kalaluni C.
5. (c) ranu A; (d) ñkā teki-n B, ñkā tekiñ C; we AC; śīta matis BC.
6. (a) -ārja wimala AD, ātiwimilā B; tinarjawimala G; (c) we AC; (d) linalisakēnyā- C.

Notes to 4, 4c; 5d-6a; and 5. See pp. 146-7.

2. There he stopped and then prepared his arrows, stringing his bow ready for use;
He was determined that none of the quarry he might encounter should escape him.
With satisfaction he looked at the glories of the mountains with their dense tangle of undergrowth;
"A lot of animals must be lurking there!" he thought, without any doubt in his mind.
3. After this he made a circuit in search of the places where animals would gather;
He travelled far, passing through rugged mountains, ravines and precipitous places.
But there was no trace of wild animals to be found — he saw nothing;
He was perplexed, for his hunting had never been like this before.
4. He continued his journey further and further, looking for game but finding none;
As he had persisted in his wanderings so long, in the end he was tired and aching.
He was hungry too, as he had not eaten since he first set out from home, and midday had gone by;
He did not know what to do, for if he returned home what would he then find in the way of food?
5. This he thought to himself, and that was why he set off again pushing through the woods;
As much as four leagues he went, without seeing a single animal.
It was already sunset when he happened to come across a large lake;
Here our Lubdhaka bathed, washed his face and drank of the cool, flowing water.
6. Thereupon he made up his mind to spend the night at that purest of pools;
Indeed there was no time to return, for the path was exceedingly hazardous in the dark.
He hoped, moreover, that there would be animals coming soon to drink of the water;
This was the idea in his mind; so he put it into action and made ready a place to sleep.

Canto 5.

1. Then at the setting of the sun all the trees seemed to be shivering and shaking;
They were enshrouded in mist as if wrapped in a blanket, being cold with the falling dew.
The call of the *cucur* was softly audible, followed by the weeping of the *taḍah-asih*;
They felt they would die if the moon did not return to help them on their weary way.

2. sakalañēn in wanāntara paḍāsmu śoka hilañ in sahasrakiraṇa
hanan añēsah wuluhnya tēkap in samīraṇa tapihnya tan kahuniña
panaṇis i sundarinya humuñ in tañēn prih-ati masrak amēlas-asih
hanan alabuh jurañ kusuma niñ tañēn ruru tēkap nikañ madhukara
3. awicaritan mateki gati niñ wanāntara tēka-ñ pētēñ malimunan
irika tikañ niṣāda mamaneḥ pañ in maja tēhēr manoni talaga
saha śara len dhanuh ya winawanya muṅgah i pañ in tañēn huwus areh
umaḍaṇ-aḍaṇ ḍatēñ-ḍatēña niñ mṛgāninuma toya denya panahēn
4. pira ta kunēñ suwenya-n añanti tan hana ḍatēñ mṛganya sasiki
akara tigan tabēh dadi tēka-ñ harip sumaput ardha tan patahēnan
saka ri wēdinya yan mṛēma taman wuruñ katiba sañka riñ pamēgilan
niyata mawas pējah tēkap ikañ warak gawaya siñha liñnya ri hati
5. dadi wēkasan mapet panalimur harip mata sakēñ takut makējēpa
pinipik ikañ rwan in maja nirantara-n tinibakēnya riñ wway adalēm
ri dalēm ikañ taṭāka hana tēki rakwa Śiwalinga nora ginawe
yata kahanan ikañ sakalawilwaparṇa tumibā tanora minahā
6. ri sēḍēñ iki-n samañkana yayan taya-ñ mṛga katon tēkapnya ḍatēña
saka ri mahāprabhāwa nikanañ bratāpanalimur kaduṣṭa-kuhaka
satata turuñ mapunya yaśa dharma len brata gatinya kaśmala dahat
saka ri takutnya yan ḍawuha yēka hetu nika tan panidra sakulēm
7. ndatan ujarēñ tēkap niki-n añolakēñ harip awās huwus kakawaśa
hana mara gātra niñ rahina manda-manda sirir in samīraṇa matis
gagana mabañ riñ indradik awarṇa siñjañ in akuñ lukar karudhiran
mañēḍlap-ēḍlap ywa wintañ ika riñ lañit sakēḍlap in pinūrwa riñ ulah

Canto 5.

2. (a) salēlēñ ika G; (b) tanan añ(ē)sah B; kahuniñañ G; (c) humuniñ
AD; āmlas-asih B; (d) madhubrata G.
3. (a) mumalanan G.
4. (a) suwenya hana nianti AD, suwe niki-n añanti B, suwenya tiki-n anti C.
5. (a) mamet CG; makējēpan ACG; (d) tikañ G; pinaha A, manaha D.
6. (b) brata-n pa- G; (c) hatinya AC.
7. (d) inūwwa B, in pin(r)wwa G.

Notes to 5, 2a; 2b; 3b; 4b; 4-5; 6a-b. See p. 147.

2. All the beauties of the woodlands appeared sad at the departure of the thousand-rayed one;
Here the bamboo was sighing in the wind, paying no heed to her clothing;
The weeping of the *sundarī* echoed forlornly in the trees, sobbing and pitiful;
And here the blossoms of the trees were casting themselves into the ravines, falling at the touch of the bees.
3. Let us now say no more of what the woodlands were like when thick darkness fell;
For then the hunter climbed onto the branch of a bael tree, so that he hung over the lake.
Carrying his bow and arrows with him he sat ready on the limb of the tree,
Lying in wait for animals coming to drink water and to be shot by him.
4. Although he waited quite some time, there came not a single creature;
At about the third hour it happened that a great heaviness came over his eyes, which was quite irresistible.
From fear that he would drop off to sleep and without doubt fall from his refuge,
And would certainly be killed by the rhinoceroses, wild bulls and lions, as he said to himself,
5. He finally sought a means of warding the heaviness from his eyes out of fear of falling asleep;
So he plucked the leaves of the bael tree, and without ceasing dropped them in the deep water.
In the midst of the pool, now, there was a *lingga* of Śiwa, not fashioned by human hands,
And that was where all the bael leaves fell, although he did not mean it so.
6. While he did this there were even so no animals to be seen coming, Because the great power of his penance was counteracted by his evil nature.
He had never carried out good works, observed the moral law or done penance, and his ways were very impure;
It was only because of his fear he might fall that he did not sleep the whole night through.
7. There is no need to tell any further of how he fought off sleepiness, for it was clearly overcome;
There came now the first faint glow of day, and the gentle blowing of a cooling breeze.
The sky became red in the east, like the *kain* of a girl in love, loosened and stained with blood;
And the stars blinked in the sky, like the eyes of the girl deflowered at first union.

Canto 6. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - - - / - - ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~

1. kṣaṇa rahina mijil sañ hyañ sūryāñrawasi limut
sahana ni sēmi niñ kaywan kumram paḍa mañisis
manuk asukha-sukhan muṅgwiñ pañ rāmya masahuran
kadi papupul i sañ wriñ tatwādhyātmika macēñil
2. paḍa mamahara kuñ lwir niñ kaywāñēḍēñ aṣēkar
wuluh amēḍari siñjañnya-ñ jaṅgāpēku-pēkulan
bhramara nika marāñriñriñ santēñ rara malayu
akusikan aṇēsah tañ priñ darpāharas-arasan
3. kusuma lēwas aragrag runtuh de niñ aṇiñ alon
mañēlab-ēlab ikañ sinwam niñ pādapa kasirir
sari-sari pañaras kēmbañ kumbañnya maliwēran
analiriñ aṇēpō muṅgwiñ sor niñ lirañ lurus

Canto 7. - - ~ / - ~ ~ / ~ - ~ / ~ - ~ / - ~

1. ndātītanēñ halēp ikañ wanadeśa rāmya
nya-ñ Lubdhakēki waluya-n caritan gatinya
mahyun humantuka riñ eñjiñ adan laras hru
sampun madandan atēhēr lumaris kamantyan
2. rāmyāñ ikañ sakahawan mara tan wiwākṣan
sakweh ni mārğa nika pūrwa tēlas kalalwan
prāptēñ grhanya wahu meh sumurup hyañ arka
ri ñkā-n sinuñsuñ i rabinya tēhēr ya mojar
3. rakryan ndya tāntuk i kakañku sakēñ paburwan
putranta duhkhita tatan pamañan kabehnya
tan wruh tikañ suñakēñañkw i duwēgnya luhya
mañke ḍatēñta sama garjita yan panuñsuñ

Canto 6.

1. (b) manisih C; (c) muṅgwi C.
2. (b) am(ē)ḍariñ B; (c) walayu G.
3. (b) kasilir BC; (c) hañaras G; (d) aṇapō A, aṇōpō B, aṇēpēr CG, aṇēpā D.

Canto 7.

1. (b) hatinya B; (d) aṇēhēr C.
2. (b) niñ mārğa B, nikañ mārğa D; mūrwa B; (c) surupa B.
3. (a) hāntuk A; (c) tikā suñakēñañku duwēg ya C, tikā suñakēñañkwi G; (d) yar C.

Notes to 6,2; 3c. See p.148.

Canto 6.

1. Then it was day, and the holy sun emerged to roll back the mists,
And all the tender shoots of the trees sparkled, freshly opened.
Birds amused themselves among the branches, happily twittering
to each other,
Like a meeting of experts in esoteric truth debating together.
2. The appearance of the trees all in full bloom made one ache with
love,
And the bamboo opened her dress for the *jañgha* vine to embrace
her.
The bees drew near to caress the flowers of the *rara malayu*,
And in agitation the bamboos sighed, passionately kissing each
other.
3. The wilted flowers fell, disturbed by a soft wind,
And the young branches fluttered in the breeze.
The kissing of the flowers was incessant, while the bees busily
flew about,
And darting sideways would hover beneath the slender *liran* palms.

Canto 7.

1. Let us now pass over the beauties of the charming woodlands,
And return to the story of what happened to Lubdhaka.
He wished to return home that morning, and so made ready his
bow and arrows;
When he was ready he presently went on his way.
2. The charms of everything along the way will not be described;
He passed over all the paths of the previous day.
When he arrived home the sun was on the point of setting,
Then his wife came out to meet him, and said:
3. "My dear, where is what you brought home from the hunt?
Your children have been miserable, for none of them has eaten.
I did not know what to give them when they were hungry,
But now you have arrived we are all delighted to come and meet
you."

Canto 8. ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. bibi tan hanântuk i kakanta maburu-buru kewalâsêpi
kita têkihên twas umarêp-harêp ulih-ulihan̄ku tan padon
wini kamy aṇuṇsi midêr in̄ wana sarahina tan kênên paṇan
sakulêm pinun tuwi taman kêjêp aṇusi ri paṇ nikaṇ tahên
2. sipi biṣṭi niṇ paṇinêpanku rari ri taru tîra niṇ raṇu
niyataṇku matya yadiyan ḍawuha saka ri ungwan i ṇhulun
humaḍaṇ-haḍaṇ ḍatêṇa niṇ mṛga maṇinuma toya tan hana
sipi kasyasihta rari tan hana tēmu-tēmuneṇta ri ṇhulun
3. paṇucap nikaṇ tuha-burū rabi nika sumahur manohara
bapa haywa maṇkana muwah pati-kutu dahatên lupên hurip
cumarik hatiṇku rumēṇō wacana sagati rakryan in̄ paran
mapa reha niṇ kari yadin kita pējaha mapōṇsinēn muwah
4. iti nā wuwus niki-n asuṇ ta ya baṇu ri jalunya kanlihan
saha bhuktimātra yatika-ṇ hinaturakēn ulahnya riṇ sēṇēn
irika-n pamukti mari teky alēsu dahat apiṇḍa kasrêpan
ri tēlas nikādan aturū ri huwus i surup in̄ diwākara
5. tan iwōn gatinya-n akêjêp ri paṇawaśa nikaṇ harip mata
tumiba-ṇ riris saha gērēhnya masahuran aganti lor kidul
larap in̄ kilat ri hiriṇ in̄ gaganatala ri tîra niṇ rēmōṇ
kadi kiṇcaṇ in̄ halis in̄ adyah anawuṇ unēn in̄ pasaṇgaman
6. marēn in̄ hudan ri mayat in̄ rahina wahu tēlas tabēh pitu
ruru niṇ sēkar sumawur in̄ natar arēja salaywan in̄ gēluṇ
swara niṇ hēpiṇ sataṇis in̄ wahu-wahu kinēnan karāsikan
kisik in̄ wuluh gaḍiṇ apiṇḍa paṇēsah in̄ aṇōlakēn larā
7. luwar in̄ kulēm wijil in̄ arka saka riṇ udaya prabhāsvara
irika-ṇ niṣāda tēlas ādan atutur i gawenya riṇ lagi
ri hulih nikēṇēt in̄ ulahnya sukha saha kucumba warga len
iti nā gawaynya satatānuwuki sakasēṇēn niṇ indriya

Canto 8.

1. (b) -hulihanku B, ulih i ṇhulun tuhan C; (d) tānan B; akusir i G.
2. (a) taru ri tîra BD (in D these words, originally missing, have been inserted by another hand); tirah in̄ G; (b) niyataṇkwa A.
3. (c) parā C; (d) sapōṇsinēn G; -ōṇsirēn C.
4. (b) yatikā CG; ri sēṇēn BC; (d) dinākara A, ḍiwaṇkarā B.
5. (b) tumibā AD; (c) gaganatara ADG; tirah in̄ G; ni rēmēn B; (d) anapuṇ unēn in̄ D.
6. (b) turun in̄ B; (d) maṇēsah A.
7. (a) udayā A(?)CD; (b) irikā B; tēlas ādan B; (c) kucumbu C; (d) anu-huki AG; sakasēṇō B.

Notes to 8, 1b; 4c; 6a; 7b-c. See p. 148.

Canto 8.

1. "I had no success at hunting, mother, there was not a thing abroad;
You set your heart on what I would bring back, but all to no avail.
Yesterday I scoured the woods high and low and had nothing to
eat all day,
Nor closed an eye all night, sitting there on the branch of a tree.
2. "My lodging-place was extremely perilous, dear, in a tree on the
bank of a lake;
I would surely have been killed if I had fallen from my place.
I was watching and waiting for animals to come and drink, but
there were none;
It is so wretched for you, dear, that I have nothing to give you."
3. Thus spoke the hunter, and his wife gently replied:
"Father, never do such a thing again, courting death so obstinately!
It breaks my heart to hear your tale of all that happened on your
way,
What would become of the bereaved if you should die, and where
would they turn to?"
4. So she spoke while giving her exhausted husband some water,
And offered him a little food, too; thus did she bear herself toward
her loved one.
He then ate and his great tiredness disappeared and he looked
refreshed;
After that they prepared for sleep, the sun having already set.
5. We need pay him no heed as he slept, having fallen under the
sway of drowsiness;
There now fell a gentle rain, together with thunder responding in
turns in north and south.
The flash of the lightning low in the sky on the edge of a dark
rain-cloud
Was like the quiver of a girl's eyebrows as she partook of the
raptures of love-making.
6. The rain ceased when day was about to break, just after the
seventh hour;
The fallen flowers were strewn in the courtyard, beautiful as the
faded blossoms from a maiden's hair.
The sound of the *hepin* was like the crying of one who had just
been introduced to the sensations of love,
And the creaking of the ivory bamboo in the wind was as the
sighing of one beset by sorrow.
7. When, at the departure of night, the sun emerged from the glowing
eastern mountain,
The hunter was ready, and turned his mind to his previous work,
And having recalled his usual way of life, he would enjoy himself
with his household and other relatives;
This is how he conducted himself, constantly satisfying all the
desires of the senses.

1. lunha-ñ kâla pirântajinya ta kunêh katêka-têka pilih pirañ tahun
prâpta-ñ mrtyu mahambalan griñ atibhâra ri awak ika tar wênan kinas
uṣṇa srêp pinalêhnya roga taya tamba rumahati ya sañśayâsakit
epw ambêk niñ atuṅgu len wêka rabinya mananisi malingih in dagan
2. mankin sañśaya manranêh-ranêhi denya malara taya jampy anenaki
awnêṣ tan kawênan matanhya tuwi tan hana manah iki-n âptya rin pañan
nora-ñ wastu kinahyunanya masukên gulu sêpah apitowi kasrêtan
mrêm tan polah anêntak-êntak uminêl tinañan i kalaranya tan sahur
3. strînyêkâtisayên larânanis asambat atêhêr atêpak-têpak jaja
lud mawlas ri anak niki-n mapa têmah-têmaha nika mêne-n katingala
marmanya-n pamêkul wêkanya ya ginanti nika tinanisan sinuñkëman
asrêt denya-n asamba-sambat atêtêl hati tuna-tuna kabwatan tañis
4. ðuh putranku mapôlahanta mara yan katilara têkap in yayah pêjah
tan wwantên masiha syapêkan asuñâ pinañan i tanayañku kâsihan
ndyânuñ: warga kadan-kadan sumilihê sih in atanaya he rêsun tuhan
yânde rêṣ ni hatiñku tan kawaśa manlihatana ri tuwuhta kasyasih
5. nâhan sambat ikañ niṣâdawanitâ kasih-arêp apêyêh rinênwakên
warñan têki jalunya tan wênan anôlakên i paramatikṣṇa niñ lara
sañśara-n pakêjat-kêjat kêtê-kêtêgnya ri jaja masamun têtêkên gulu
nora-ñ dharma samâtra pañlêpasa jiwa karaña nika yan samankana
6. sampun mâtî tikañ niṣâda sakadañnya paḍa manañis atri ghûrñita
tan hopên lara niñ rabinya-n akusâ kapati-pati sumuñkêm in śawa
asrak śabda nikâdalêm tan ari luhnya mijil atat i himbañ in pipi
sarwy-ânambatakên laranya mapa tan wruha ri kasih-arêpku waswasên

1. (c) rumahat iriya sayâ- BC; (d) maluñguh B; i dagan D; -ên B.
2. (a) aŋenaka G; (b) awas G; matañhi C; (c) sêpih AC, sapah G; kasrêpan CG; (d) larahnya AD.
3. (a) anêhêr C; (b) mêne B; (c) -nya mêkul wêka punya G; mamêkul C.
4. (c) sih i sañ atayanê rêsun ADG.
6. (c) asrak AC, asrêt B, asrêk D; (d) tañ wruhana kasih- ADG, tañ B.

Notes to 9, 1c; 4b; 4c; 5c. See pp. 148-9.

Canto 9.

1. There passed a certain length of time ; then, after a number of years
 Death came by way of a terrible illness which struck him inexorably.
 It made the fever increase, the incurable sickness overwhelmed him,
 and he grew worse and worse ;
 Those watching over him were desperate, and his wife and children
 wept for him as they sat at his feet.
2. His malady grew ever graver, and there was no remedy which
 gave relief ;
 He was pale and had no strength to rise ; he had not the slightest
 desire for food.
 There was nothing he wanted to eat, and even chewed food stuck
 fast ;
 With closed eyes he lay still, groaning again and again, and when
 asked of his illness only shook his head without answering.
3. His wife was extremely distressed, and wept and wailed and beat
 her breast ;
 Moreover she was sorry for the children, for what was to become
 of them if he should leave them so ?
 This is why she embraced her children and wept for them in turns,
 bending over them ;
 Her wails were choked by overflowing grief, fading under a flood
 of tears.
4. "O my children, what will you do if you are bereaved of your
 father ?
 There will be no-one to care for my poor children ; who will give
 them anything to eat ?
 Who is there among our family who can take your place as a
 father, my lord ?
 It makes my heart ache, and I cannot bring myself to behold your
 pitiable state."
5. Such was the plaint of the hunter's wife, pitiful and muffled to
 the ear ;
 Let us now tell how her husband could not bear the terrible sharp-
 ness of the pain :
 He was wretched while his heart-beat faltered and vanished through
 his throat,
 For he had not fulfilled the least part of the moral law as a release
 for his soul, and that is why he was in such a state.
6. After the hunter had died all his relatives wept, making a fearful
 din —
 Not to mention the sorrow of his wife as she lamented, almost
 swooning while she bent over the body.
 Stifled and deep were her moans, and unceasingly her tears welled
 up and ran down her cheeks,
 While she lamented of her misery : "Why should you take no notice
 of my wretched state, look at me !

7. he swamiñku nihan lihat-lihatananta bapa manē-manēhta kasyasih
āh ndi nganya pametanañkwa ri huripta susu-susupanēn wanāntara
yapwan luñha mapet mṛga nwañ anutur-nuturakēna kitēn paran-paran
prāptēn durgama niñ wukir pinun anundañana ri saparanta tansaha
8. āh āh yan kahituñ sapolah i sēñēnku diwasa huwus in dawuh pitu
pantēs yan tēka sañka riñ para-paranta mataña ri wēkanta tan lupa
ri nīkā ku-n tumuluy manuñsuñ i kitātaña mapa tañ ulih sakēn alas
solihtāburu len lalab saha sēḍah pucan ika ta pasuñta ri ñhulun
9. mañke pwēki hilañta āh syapa tikāwlasa ri gati-gatiñku he priya
lāwan ndya-ñ masihē wēkanta sipi denya kasih-arēp amuktyakēn lara
yekāñambahi tibra niñ lara tanora lumipur i putēk nikiñ hati
ñhiñ maty-āñ inakē hatiñku sahawan-hawana niñ adulur lawan kita

Canto 10. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. nahan mara pasamba-sambat i tañis nika manēñulhi nāla niñ hati
ikañ mati tēlas huwus rinuruban hinañut i hiriñ in gunuñ-gunuñ
kadañ-kadañ iki-n ḍatēn sama-samāñiriñ aḍara-ḍarak hatut hēnu
bhinasmi tēlas in gēsēn paḍa mulih tikañ aniñiriñakēn tēkēn gṛha

Canto 11. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. byatīta tiñkah nika tan kathākēna
ikañ niṣādātma matēki warñanēn
hanērikañ hambara śoka kasyasih
ndatan wruh in mārgapadēka-ñ unisirēn
2. sēḍēn niki-n lampah anēn nabhastala
katon tēkap hyañ Śiwa rehnya mañkana
awas mara wruh nira solah in dadi
yatanya yan kāmbila riñ Yamālaya
7. (a) -lihat anakta C; (b) pametanañku A; (c) mamet CG; (d) anuñḍaṇa
B, anuñḍaṇana CD; saparañanta B.
8. (c) rikā AG.
9. (a) -āwēlasa ri gati niñku A, -āwēlasana ri gatiñku C (D = text, but has
been altered to conform with C); eñ B; (b) masihēñ BC; (c) -āñēmbuhi
G; lumipura AD; nikañ AD, nikuñ C; (d) -āñinakiñ B.

Canto 10.

1. (c) -āhiriñ D; (d) kathākēna (instead of tēkēn gṛha) A.

Canto 11.

Throughout this Canto D has many gaps.

2. (d) Yamabala G.

Note to 10, 1b; see p. 149.

7. "Oh my husband, look at me and see how miserable your servant is;
Where, I wonder, should I seek your life? Should I pursue it through the woods?
If you are looking for game, let me follow in your footsteps all along your way;
Even into the wildest parts of the mountains, let me be your constant companion wherever you may go.
8. "Oh, when I think of all you would do, my love, when the seventh hour was come,
When you returned from your wanderings and would never fail to ask after the children as a father ought;
Then I would go to meet you, and would ask what you had brought home from the wood —
All the game you had caught, the *lalab*, the *sirih* and betel-nuts, these you would give to me.
9. "But now that you are gone who will take pity on my lot, oh beloved?
And where is the one who will care for your children, for they, poor things, must endure great hardships?
They will feel the keenness of affliction, and there will be none to comfort their sadness;
Only death will satisfy me, no matter where I may have to accompany you."

Canto 10.

1. Such were her lamentations while she wept, melting the very core of one's heart;
The deceased was covered with a shroud and was borne along the slopes of the mountains.
His relatives, who had come, accompanied him in a line along the path;
He was cremated and when he had turned to ashes those who came with him returned to their homes.

Canto 11.

1. Let us pass over in silence what became of them,
For it is the soul of the hunter of which we shall speak.
There in the air he was sorrowful and pitiable;
He knew not for which destination he should head.
2. While he thus moved on in the sky,
The god Śiwa caught sight of him in such a state.
He knew well all that he had done on earth,
And that he would be brought to the abode of Yama.

3. matañ nirāsyāñ sawatēk gaṇāprēgi
parēñ tēkāñēmbah i jōñ Jagatpati
mapēkiñhēñ kārya patik hyañ Īśwara
kabeh inundañ ta salah manah ñhulun
4. awas hanañ śatru panarka niñ hiḍēp
dumeh bhaṭārāñutus iñgal-iñgala
matañnya ta ñke t-ajarēñ ñhulun kabeh
ri kewēh iñ kārya katōñ i jōñ prabhu
5. nahan hatur niñ gaṇasañghya sādara
rika-n bhaṭārōjar arūm wulat nira
kṣamākēñantēki pañundañ i ñhulun
tatan mahābhāra gawenta de mami
6. rēñōñ liñ i ñwañ ri kitēkiñhēñ kabeh
wwayēki pakwankw i kita prasiddhakēñ
hanañ niṣādātma sudhīra riñ brata
ikā papag denta wawan marē ñhulun
7. yadin hanañ wādhaka tar paweha ya
huwus katon buddhya nikañ watēk Yama
hayo kitājrih rumēbut si Lubdhaka
wawan tēkaptā ḍatēñēñ Śiwālaya
8. wuwus bhaṭārēśwara sārjawātērēh
manēmbah ojar tikanāñ watēk gaṇa
mapēki don hyañ mami kēdw amakṣakēñ
tēkā nikañ Lubdhakajiwa ghātaka
9. apan sajiwanya sadāmatī mṛga
samātra tapwan magawe tapabrata
ndya tēka donanya tēkēñ Śiwālaya
kēñohnya yan muñsira tāmbra gohmukha

3. (c) hapē- G; bhārya BD.
4. (c) hulun BC.
5. (d) den mami B.
6. (b) -ēki-n pakonkw C; prasiddhanēñ B; (d) ikā-n B; dengawawanta ri ñhulun B.
8. (a) -ōtērēh C; (c) pakṣañoḍwakēñ C; (d) tēkāñ A, tēkap C, tēkan hikañ G.
9. (c) ndya donya yan prapta rikēñ G; (d) muñsiri B; gomukha CD.

Notes to 11, 4c; 4d. See p. 149.

3. And so he called upon the Gaṇas to hasten, every one,
And at once they came, bringing their homage at the feet of the
World-Lord;
"What is this task for us to perform, oh divine Lord?
For we are apprehensive at being all summoned thus.
4. "We imagine that there must be an enemy near at hand,
And that this is why the Lord summons us to hasten.
We should therefore now like to be told
Of the difficult task which he requires of us."
5. Thus spoke the bands of Gaṇas, full of reverence,
And then said the Lord — his glance was mild:
"Forgive this summons of mine;
What you must do for me is no great burden.
6. "Listen to what I have to say to you all —
I have an order for you to carry out:
There is the soul of a hunter who was steadfast in his vow;
Go and meet him, and bring him here to me.
7. "If there is anyone who resists, and refuses to hand him over —
For it is evident what the inclination of Yama's hosts will be —
Do not be afraid to seize that Lubdhaka,
And convey him to the abode of Śiwa."
8. Thus spoke Lord Īśwara, kindly and gently,
And reverently all the Gaṇas answered:
"Why, our lord, do you feel obliged to force
The murderous soul of Lubdhaka to come hither?
9. "For he has done nothing but kill animals all his life,
And has not carried out even the smallest vow by way of penance.
What then would be the point of his coming to the abode of Śiwa?
It would be fairer if he were to end up in the Cow-Headed
Cauldron.

10. tuwin tikañ kiñkara tan gahan-gahan
 sumañkala-ñ nityasuśila subrata
 apan ya meñēt bubuhannya tan salah
 ikañ marēñ swarga lawan Yamālaya

Canto 12. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ - / - - ~ / - - ~ / ~

1. nāhan tēki wuwus nikañ gaṇa kabeh mojar bhaṭārēśwara
 hāh wwantēñ ta ya tañ bratēnulahakēnya ndug sēḍēñnya-n dadi
 atyantādhika niñ bratanya ta ya kājar de nikañ rāt kabeh
 mañgēh liñ nikañ ādiśāstra Śīwarātripuñya tan popama
2. nā hetuñkw akēdō mutus kita kabeh meta-ñ niṣādātmaka
 āpan diwya dahat tēkapnya mamañun dharmādhika mwañ brata
 lāwan tañ mañipuṣpakārja wawanēñ mārḡanya yapwan ḍatēñ
 sep t-añkat kita haywa sañśaya gaway sojarku haywākabēt
3. liñ hyañ Śaṅkara mañkanākrama manēmbah sañ kinon mañkata
 śighrādan mañatag watēknya mijil akram riñ lēbuh sañgēpan
 kēṇḍañ goñ gumuruh tabēh-tabēhan atri mwañ dhwajanyānadēg
 mukhyēkañ mañipuṣpakārja dinulur de sañ watēk sāyudha

Canto 13. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~

1. atha ri wijil nikañ bala kabeh lumarisakēñ ujar hyañ Īśwara
 masalēsēk iñ nabhastala lakunya kakērētug ikañ digantara
 dilah i layū-layūnya kumēḍap mawalikan i dṛṣ iñ samīraṇa
 kadi tēka niñ mahāpralaya lampah ika gumuruh iñ nabhastala
2. gaṇa-gaṇa ghūrñitēñ gagaṇa tan pagañita maguñēñ rañāñgaṇa
 tahu ginulañ-gulañ halu tēkap Gaṇapati ginawe surakṣaka
 paḍa masurak-surak surak ikāsru tan asirik i śūra niñ musuh
 satatāmusus musuh sumaput iñ samara kalilip iñ musuh ḍatēñ

10. (a) gaha-gahan D; (b) sumañkalā nitya- ACG.

Canto 12.

1. (b) brati- B, bratā- C.
2. (b) mañulah (instead of mamañun) G; (d) -ākawēr (instead of -ākabēt) G.
3. (b) sañkēpan D, sañkēpan G; (c) tabē-tabēhan D; (d) mūkyākañ B.

Canto 13.

1. (b) manēlēsēk A.
2. (c) tan awēdi ri G.

10. "Furthermore the Kinkaras are not so careless
As to chain those who are always of good conduct and loyal to
their vows.
For they are mindful of their mission and do not mistake
Those who go to heaven and who to the abode of Yama."

Canto 12.

1. Such were the words of all the Gaṇas, and Lord Īśwara spoke,
"Well, there is in fact a vow he kept during his life on earth ;
The great excellence of his vow is spoken of by all the world,
And the leading scriptures always stress that the Night of Śiwa is
meritorious beyond compare.
2. "That is why I must send you all to seek the soul of the hunter,
For he has fulfilled the exalted law and the vow in a most excellent
way.
Take the splendid Jewelled Chariot along as his vehicle when he
comes ;
Go quickly and do not hesitate to do all that I have said, and waste
no time about it!"
3. Thus spoke Śaṅkara, and then those who received his orders took
their leave to go ;
Swiftly preparing they called up their troops, who came forth in
order onto the square, fully fitted out.
Drums and gongs boomed, music echoed loudly, and the banners
were raised.
And in front there stood the splendid Jewelled Chariot, accom-
panied by the armed hosts.

Canto 13.

1. Then when the whole army came forth to carry out the orders of
the divine Īśwara,
They filled the heavens on their way, and the air resounded.
Their glittering pennants flashed as they fluttered in the force of
the wind,
And their thundrous passage through the heavens was like the
final destruction of the world drawing near.
2. The Gaṇas clamoured in the firmament in incalculable numbers,
capable in battle ;
Because they were skilful and had been well trained, they had been
formed into a corps of guards for Gaṇapati.
They all shouted and yelled loudly, in no mood to evade enemy
heroes ;
They would always crush an enemy and overwhelm him in battle,
a thorn in the side of an approaching foe.

3. pinakapanēṇḍas in laku sa Nandana nipuṇa sudhīra riṇ raṇa
ri wuri nirōrdhwakeśa madulur Gaṇaratha saha Puṣpadanta len
sama-sama śūra riṇ samara tan dadi suruda ri śakti niṇ musuh
bala nira piṇḍa sārwuda ya riṇ sajuru-sajuru kapwa śaktimān

Canto 14. ~ ~ ~ / ~ - ~ / - ~ ~ / ~ - ~ / - ~ ~ / ~ - ~ / - ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. itara sakê siraṇ wruh i pakewēh in laga wiweka nīti riṇ ulah
naran ira Piṅgalākṣa kalawan Mahodara sa-Wirabhadra madulur
ṇuni-uni Somawarṇa saha Reṇukarṇa kalawan Prakarṣa maniririṇ
tinuha-tuhēn watēk gaṇa kabeh titir tēlas akīrti riṇ pabharatan
 2. atisaya riṇ halēp sahana saṇ watēk gaṇa sabhūṣaṇābhra kumēṇar
salinēwih in watēk wiwudha kapwa bhūṣaṇa nirātidiwya dahatēn
rawi makucēm mrēm anlihati teja niṇ makūṭaratnasaṅghya dumilah
niyata pētēn tikaṇ bhuwana tan kasēnwana tēkap ni bhūṣaṇa nira
 3. prasama parēn lumampah irikaṇ laṇit saha balātighora gumuruh
rasa bubura-ṇ samasta bhuwana prakampa tēkap in balāsuraḥ awū
pasahuran in gubar paḍahi bheri śaṅka tinulup humuṇ mawurahan
sinawuṇ i śabda niṇ bala sahasra koṭi maṇuwuh paḍāruh-aruhan
 4. ri sēḍēn ira-n hanēn gagaṇamārga sōk malimunan wijah-wijah umuṇ
tucapa bhaṭāra Dharma maṇutus balādhika kabehnya sampun inatag
lumarisa maṇkatāṇalapa Lubdhakātma wawanēn ya riṇ Yamapada
apusana tan haris-harisēn iṅgal-iṅgala phalanya duṣṭa satata
 5. liṇ ira bhaṭāra Dharma tumuluy manēmbah ikanaṇ watēk Yamabala
maṇatagakēn balanya mamawa-ṇ pamigraha rikaṇ niṣāda kaluṣa
tēlas ataramtam in lēbuh agōṇ paḍāgalak atuṅgalan śarawara
maṇayam-ayam ri ātma nikanan niṣāda pilaran sadenya cacahēn
3. (a) - (c) mistakenly replaced by 2 (a) - (c) in D, added by Van der Tuuk;
3. (a) saṇ (instead of sa) AG; (b) nirōddhyakeśa A, nira roddhyakeśa B,
purinirājakeśa D, nira rodakeśa G; (c) surudi ri BC; ripu (instead of
musuh) B.

Canto 14.

1. (a) sira C, sira wruha i kewēh A; (b) Mahodara ACD; si Wirabhadra C;
(c) kalawan Prakarṣa saha Reṇukarṇa C.
2. (c) makucēmrmē ABC; mukuṭa C; (d) kasēnwani G.
3. (d) sinawur AD; maṇuhuh BD.
4. (a) ika-n G; wija-wijah C; (b) atihan C (instead of inatag); (c) maṇkatē-
C, maṇkat aṇhalapa D; (d) hapusēna C; taṇ ADG; -iṅgal i C.
5. (b) parigraha A; (d) linaran G.

Note to 14, 5d; see p. 149.

3. The vanguard was formed by Nandana, skilled and steadfast in the struggle,
And after him came Ūrdhwakeśa, together with Gaṇaratha and Puṣpadanta too,
All heroes in battle, who would never yield before the strength of an enemy;
Their army seemed a hundred million strong, in its various regiments, each of them mighty.

Canto 14.

1. Others than these also knew the hardships of battle, and possessed discernment and insight into the correct procedure:
Their names were Piṅgalākṣa and Mahodara, together with Wira-bhadra,
As well as Somawarṇa and Reṇukarṇa and, besides, Prakarṣa;
These were appointed as generals over the troops of Gaṇas, and had again and again won themselves fame on the battlefield.
2. All the Gaṇas were exceedingly handsome, with their brightly shining attire;
The apparel of these, the most prominent of divine warriors, was extremely beautiful;
The sun paled and closed his eyes on seeing the multitude of coronet jewels glittering,
And the earth would certainly have become dark, were it not lit by their splendid attire.
3. Together they went forth through the heavens with their troops, making a terrible uproar,
It seemed as if the whole world would collapse, shuddering at the army's shouting and yelling.
The clamour of the cymbals, drums, kettledrums, and the conches being blown thundered tumultuously,
And was joined with the voices of the numberless army, as they vied with each other in shouting.
4. While they were on their way through the sky in dense swarms, making a boisterous noise,
Let us tell how the god Dharma was sending forth his excellent troops, when he had called them up:
"Set out straight away and seize the soul of Lubdhaka and bring him to the dwelling of Yama;
You must bind him without giving quarter; make haste, for he has always had evil deeds to his name."
5. Thus spoke the lord Dharma, and all his armies then paid their homage,
Summoning their servants to bring up the tackle for seizing the vile hunter.
They were in ranks on the great square, wild with impatience and each one carrying his weapons;
They were longing to get the soul of the hunter, to torment him and injure him in any way they could.

Canto 15. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ - / - - ~ / - - ~ / ~

1. ry aṅkatnya-n mētu saṅka riṅ grēha parēṅ mattānuwuh kātara
krūrākāra maṇuṇḍa tomara lipuṅ kaṇḍanya tiḱṣṇāluniḍ
sahyābhūṣaṇa bhūṣaṇānamah-amah waktranya sinhopama
ḍaṅṣṭrānyāmēsi lot aghāṣa patakisnyêkâwijiḷ pāwaka
2. saṅ Caṇḍâdi nikaṅ lumampah adulur mwaṅ saṅ Pracāṇḍâdbhuta
Kāla mwaṅ Parameṣṭimṛtyu ṇuniweh Nilôgrakarnânirīṅ
Citrodumbara Ghorawikrama Mahācaṇḍāntakātyadbhuta
sarwēndah sawijiḷ nikaṅ Yamapadābhrābhūṣaṇānindita
3. wadwanyêki pirārwujudanya ta kunēṅ śakti prawirēṅ raṇa
muṅgwiṅ wuntat arampak atri gumuruh śabdanya maṇḍe takut
kantar mwaṅ baḍamâtitiḱṣṇa winawanyātuṅgalan saṅjata
sākṣāt sāgara mahyun aṅhibēkana-ṅ rāt ghūrṇitēṅ ambara
4. śighrēṅgal tēkap iṅ lumampah amēṇēr sampun ḍatēṅ riṅ paran
ṅkā-n paṅguh kētikaṅ niṣāda kasihan tan wriṅ paranyōṅsirēṅ
ajriḥ tan wihikan matēki-n ulahanya-n ton watēk Kiṅkara
tan wriṅ de kumētēr gupuh makiḍupuh tibrānaṅis kasyasiliḥ
5. prāptēkaṅ bala Kiṅkarānudiṇi maṇḍhik sāhasānēmbuli
ai ko-ṅ Lubdhaka kaśmalādhama dahat lampu-n gawemw-āhala
tiṅhal tēki mukhaṅku haywa humēṇēṅ ḍaṇḍē taṅanku-n lihat
byaktēki-n mupuhēri ko ywa palalun krodhaṅku haywâwihan
6. nāhan liṅnya tēhēr manalyani subaddha byakta denya-n huwus
tan wriṅ gatyā tikaṅ niṣāda manāṅis wet niṅ larāśānibā
tēkwan tan kawaśôlahārdha matēguh tēkaṅ mahābandhana
śokānambat anak rabinya mapčyēḥ śabdanya tan waspada

Canto 15.

1. (a) aṅkatnyāmētu A; rī A; aṅuhuh B; (b) maṇunda A; lipuṅ ḍaṅstranya G; (c) cahyâ- B; (d) -āmijiḷ CG; pawāśa G.
2. (c) Mahācaṇḍakāty- A; (d) Yamapada bhraṅ bhū- C; -bap- (instead of -bhrâ-) G.
3. (a) pirarwu(saṅ, inserted)danya B, piraṅwudanya CG; (d) aṅhibēkana-ṅ B.
4. (b) tikanāṅ G; -ōsirēṅ C; (d) makiḍupū AD.
5. (b) lampū A; gawemū hala C; (c) taṅanku B; (d) mupuhā ri B; ywa malayun A, ya palalun C, ya palayun D, ywa palayun G; krodhaṅku-n C.
6. (b) nikaṅ AB, nikanāṅ D; laranyaniba G; (c) end is missing in D.

Canto 15.

1. At their departure they emerged from their houses, frenzied and shrieking frightfully all together;
They were terrifying in appearance and brandished their spears, discuses and swords, keen-edged and sharp.
Their attire was splendid, their faces were fearful and threatening, as a lion's,
Their tusks were like iron and constantly ground together, their friction bringing forth fire.
2. Caṇḍa was the first to go on his way, together with the fearful Pracāṇḍa;
Kāla, Parameṣṭimṛtyu, as well as Nīla and Ugrakarma, accompanied them,
And Citrodumbara, Ghorawikrama, Mahācaṇḍa and Antaka — very frightful —
All those who emerged from Yama's dwelling were glorious in every way, and their peerless attire gleamed.
3. Their men were some hundreds of millions in number, and they were indeed mighty heroes on the battlefield,
Following behind in ranks, their voices booming loudly, and inspiring terror.
They carried with them their razor-sharp lances and cleavers; each one had his own weapons;
They thundered in the sky like the sea about to engulf the land.
4. They sped unswervingly onward till they came to their destination;
There they found the miserable hunter, who knew not whither he should turn.
He was afraid and did not know what to do when he saw the bands of Kiṅkaras;
Quaking and desperate he helplessly fell to his knees, and wept bitterly in his misery.
5. When they reached him, the Kiṅkaras pointed threateningly and jeered at him while they attacked him from all sides, saying:
"Hey you base and worthless Lubdhaka, you certainly have a lot to answer for!
Look me in the face, don't just sit there, look at the staff in my hand!
It will surely beat you, so resign yourself to my wrath, and do not resist it!"
6. Thus they spoke; they then bound him firmly, and their work was obviously done;
The hunter knew not what to do; he cried with pain and in despair he let himself fall.
He could not even move, for the great ropes were very strong;
Sadly he wailed for his wife and children, but his voice was muffled and unclear.

Canto 16. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - ~ - / ~ ~ ~

1. ai putraṅku rariṅku toḥ rēṇēn ujarku bibi kasih-arēḥku waswasēn
muṅgwiṅ hambara tan hana wruh i gatiṅku kasihan anahēn larādhika
de saṅ Kiṅkarawadwa sāhasa manalyani taya wēnaṅ olaha ṅhulun
wet niṅ rakwa kaduṣkṛtaṅku liṅ irāṇuman-uman i śarīra ni ṅhulun
2. yan wwantēn pwa kadaṅ-kadaṅku warahēn ḍatēṇa matuluṇē ṅhulun tuhan
prāptānamya ri saṅ masuṅ lara kitāḍēku-ḍēkuha tēḍan mara ṅhulun
prih-prih masku muwah waluy-waluya niṅ ṅwaṅ anēkana sarāmya niṅ dad
paṅgil wwantēṇa mātra siḥ nira tuhan kita ḍatēṇa manēmba-nēmbaha

Canto 17. ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - ~ - / ~ ~ ~
~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~
~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. palalunta ko-ṅ awak awas kapalaṅ-alaṅ i demu kasyasih
tan hana wēnaṅ atilik-tilika
ndya kunaṅ mēne amēṇanamwa waswasēn
2. sahananta saṅ kari hanēn gṛha rēṇēn ujar i ṅhulun tuhan
ṅke gagaṇa mata wēkasku hilaṅ
taya samba-sambatēn adoh kadaṅ-kadaṅ
3. daṅu niṅ nyu-danta pahatan sama-sama ni hawakku tiṅhali
syuh pinalu binēbēḍan matēguh
niyatanya yan kahirisāpuput pējah
4. taṅis iṅ kalaṅkyaṅ umuniṅ tawaṅ aṣēmu taṅisku rēṇwakēn
luhku lihat i riris iṅ jaladha
swara niṅ gērēh tēmah i sambat i ṅhulun
5. wulaṅun ṅhulun bibi manambat i kita manawak-nawak tawaṅ
tan hana wara-warahēṅku juga
ri laraṅku tibra lalu tan siḥ iṅ Widhi

Canto 16.

1. (a) rabiṅku D; (b) hanāwruh i B; wruha AD; (c) Kiṅkarabāla C;
(d) kaduṣkṛtan B.
2. (a) wwantēn pwēka G; (b) -āḍēku-dekuh AC; (c) muwah-muwah waluya
ni ṅwaṅ inakana C; (d) panēmbah- A.

Canto 17.

1. (a) kapalaṅ-asaṅ i de B; (b) atilik-ilaka D; (c) hamēṇanamwaṅ G.
3. (a) daṅu liṅ A, uṇu niṅ B; nyuh danta D; hawāku A, yawāku BCD;
(c) yan missing in D; kahirisā B, kahirisan puput CDG.
5. (a) i tita B.

Notes to 16, 1d; 2; 17, 3. See pp. 149, 150.

Canto 16.

1. "Oh my children, my wife, hear what I say! Dear one, see how wretched I am!
No-one knows of my woeful state here in the sky, enduring the greatest pain,
As legions of Kinkaras have roughly bound me, so that I could not move;
It was, mark you, because of my sinfulness, they said, that they so reviled my person.
2. "If my family are there, tell them to come and help me;
When you come to pay homage to the One who is causing me pain, you must kneel down and ask for me back.
Try your hardest, my treasure, so that I may come back again and enjoy all the delights of existence;
In the hope that He may have a grain of mercy, you must surely come and constantly worship Him.

Canto 17.

1. "Resign yourself, my body, for judging from your wretched state you are obviously in great trouble!
There is none able to see to you any more —
What will be left of you presently? Think of that!
2. "All you who are left behind at home, hear what I say!
So here in the sky what is left of me fades away —
There is no-one to whom I can cry out, all my family are far away.
3. "My body is just as the flower-stalk of an ivory coconut palm,
notched for tapping — look!
Beaten to pulp and tightly bound,
No doubt it will be tapped dry and finally die.
4. "The cry of the *kalankyañ* calling in the heavens is like my crying — listen!
Look for my tears in the rain from the clouds,
And hear my wails in the rumble of the thunder.
5. "In bewilderment do I wail for you, wife, while I cry out to the sky.
There is no-one at all I can tell
Of the depth of my anguish, as Fate is utterly merciless."

Canto 18. - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - -

1. liñnya makin tinalyan atēguh linud inuman-uman sināhasan
jāti nikañ watēk Yamabala prasama-sama taman kēnēñ wlas
ndyēki kadañmu yogya ḍatēñēry aku satata manēmbahē ñhulun
tan masuñāku ko luwara riñ tali ri gatimu duṣṭa kewala

Canto 19. - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - -

1. sañsiptan sēḍēñ in niṣāda linaran de niñ watēk Kiñkara
kañcit prāpta sirañ watēk Gaṇa kabeh lāwan wimāñēñirīñ
prāyāñambila Lubdhakātma wawanēñ muñgweñ wimāñādhika
ñkā-n kañgēk lumihat riya-n kahapusan tapwan wēnañ molaha
2. ñkā tēki-n pañucap Mahodara ri sakweh niñ watēk Kiñkara
ai sañ Kiñkarasañghya yēki rēñēñēñ takwanku riñ sakṣaṇa
ndyānuñ doṣa nikañ niṣāda sinukēptāwas tinalyan huwus
mañgēh tan tuhu yukti denta tumibā-ñ dañḍērikañ Lubdhaka
3. āpan puñyapawitra riñ brata gatinyātulya riñ rāt kabeh
donku-n prāpta konon hyañ Īśwara mametēkañ niṣādātmaka
lāwan Puṣpaka yēki mārgaha niki-n prāptēri jōñ hyañ Śīwa
kantōnanya wuwusku śīghra huwakēñ sañkēñ mahābandhana
4. nā liñ sañ mañaran Mahodara rikā-n pojar Pracañḍāsahur
āh āh mithya dahat tēkapta mañucap puñyātma niñ Lubdhaka
āpan ñwañ wihikan gatinya satatā nora-ñ gawenyāhajōñ
mañgēh ñwañ ta-k asuñ riya-n luputa sañkēñ tāmbra gohwaktra ya
5. nā sañgupnya tēhēr kumon ri sawatēknyāmañjara-ñ Lubdhaka
sep glis tēki wawan marēñ Yamapadēsyā niñ kawah don ika
weh muktya-ñ lara bhāra haywa kapalañ denta-t pasuñ wedanā
byaktēki-n phala niñ gawenya mahalāweh duhkha tan pāntara

Canto 18.

1. (c) ḍatēñēñ ry A(?)C; (d) tak B.

Canto 19.

1. (b) -ēñirīñ A, -ōñirīñ CG; (d) mañgēk AD, mañgak G.
2. (a) ñkāñēki A, ñkāñ teki-n B; sakweh in D; (b) ri AD, ri C; (c) -āwan A; (d) dañḍā rikañ BD.
3. (c) prāpta ri A, prāptā ri BD.
4. (b) mawarah B (instead of mañucap); kīrtyātma G; (d) waktragoh tandra C; from 4 (d) - 20, 4 (d) is lacking in D.
5. (b) se C; (c) lara ñāra B, lara ñāta G; denta-n A, dentā B.

Note to 19,4; see p.150.

Canto 18.

1. Thus he spoke, but was only bound all the more tightly, and was taunted and roughly used;
It is the inborn nature of the hosts of Yama that they are none of them subject to pity:
"Where are those relatives of yours? They ought to come to me and constantly pay me homage!
But I will not allow you to escape from the ropes, for your ways have been nothing but evil."

Canto 19.

1. To make a long story short, while the hunter was being tormented by the hosts of Kiñkaras,
There arrived all at once the hosts of Gaṇas, bringing with them the celestial chariot.
They were planning to take the soul of Lubdhaka and carry it away in that splendid vehicle;
Then they stopped in their tracks, when they saw that he was bound and could not move.
2. Then said Mahodara to all the hosts of Kiñkaras:
"Oh multitude of Kiñkaras, listen this instant to what I ask!
What is it that the hunter has done wrong, that you have seized him and obviously bound him?
It is certainly not proper that through your doing punishment should descend on Lubdhaka!
3. "In fact he is of outstanding merit because of his vow, and he is unequalled in the whole world.
The reason why I have come is that I have been ordered by the god Īśwara to seek the soul of the hunter.
Furthermore the chariot Puspaka here will be his vehicle for approaching the feet of the god Śiwa;
Therefore I say, release him quickly from his mighty fetters!"
4. Thus spoke he who was called Mahodara; then said Pracāṇḍa in answer:
"Fie! Fie! What you say of the merits of the soul of Lubdhaka is completely untrue,
For I know his ways, and that he has never done good works,
So I will certainly not suffer him to escape from the Cow-Headed Cauldron!"
5. This he promised and thereupon ordered his troops to put Lubdhaka in a cage.
"Bring him quickly to Yama's dwelling, for it is his destiny to be an inmate of hell.
Let him taste terrible sufferings, and let nothing stand in your way when you cause him anguish;
There is no doubt that this is the fruit of his evil deeds, causing constant unhappiness."

6. nōjar sañ prawara Pracaṇḍa ri balanyādan kabeh yōmasō wahw ahyun malapa-ñ niṣāda wawanēn yan mantukēñ swagṛha nīkā tēki-n rinēbut tēkap ni bala sañ hyañ śaṅkarāñēmbuli krodhānāhasa riñ warāstra mañasut sumyuk parēñ ghūrṇita
7. sampun kālap ikañ niṣāda winawa nīkānēñ wimānāñlayan krodhāmbēk nikanan watēk Yamabalāmrih mañrēbut yōmasō kantar mwañ baḍamanya kapwa rinasuk mañsō parēñ sāyudha makrak riñ gagañāntarāla hibēkan de niñ watēk Kīnkara
8. tandwāprañ mapagut paḍāsira-siran sakweh watēk Kīnkara krēp niñ śatru winuk rinohan inusinya-n dhīrasinhēñ raṇa kapwāñakra cinakra tan jrih amalēs mamrañ dinaṇḍēñ gadā teg teg tog dhwani niñ papan kapalu riñ daṇḍāpasah syuh rēmuk
9. tañkēp niñ laga ghūrṇitārurēk arok sañ Kīnkara mwañ Gaṇa śīrṇa-ñ wadwa nirañ watēk Gaṇa katēmpuh kweh pējah koratan hetunyēki parēñ tumandañ asusun tandañnya tan paṅgalēñ śīrṇa-ñ Kīnkara binwatan śarawarākweh māti norāpuli
10. kālanya-n palayu-ñ watēk Yamabalājrih tan panoli musuh yēka-n tandañ irōgrakarṇa dinulur de niñ balākweh dahat rojeh goñ gumuruh gubar kakērētug muṅgwiñ harēp bhīṣaṇa wadwanyāyudha konta tomara dudū-ñ daṇḍādulur kaṇḍaga
11. śīghrāñsō nirañ Ugrakarṇa mamawa-ñ khaḍgātīdirghyākṛti tan pendah kadi sinha rodra magalak manwan musuh śaktiman tandañnyāmrañ ikañ kēna prih alayū majrih tumon katrēsana rampuñ tēngēk ikañ waneh sinapu riñ khaḍgādbhutākweh pējah

6. (b) mahw B; yā AG.

7. (a) nīkānē CG.

8. (a) tandwa-ñ B; -āsīrān-sīrān B; (c) dīnēṇḍēñ AB, managdē G; (d) tag teg tog C, teg togog G.

9. (a) niñ bala C.

10. (a) palayū A; Gaṇabalā- C; (c) muṅgwi B.

11. (c) tan dadyāmrañ C.

6. Thus spoke the worthy Pracāṇḍa to his troops, and making ready they advanced.
 They were just about to seize the hunter and take him along on their return to their homes,
 When the troops of the god Śaṅkara attempted to snatch him away in a mass onslaught;
 Furious, they attacked impetuously with their splendid weapons, with overwhelming ferocity and roaring in unison.
7. When the hunter was seized and carried off in the heavenly chariot which went gliding away,
 The hosts of Yama were enraged, and in an effort to recover him they advanced.
 With their lances and cleavers and clad in armour they came on, all heavily armed,
 Shouting in the vault of heaven, which was filled with the hosts of Kiṅkaras.
8. Immediately all the troops of Kiṅkaras joined battle en masse;
 The enemies were attacked wholesale, overwhelmed and pursued by those who were mighty lions in the strife.
 They hurled discuses at each other and fearlessly fought back if struck by a club;
 Thud, thud, thud went the shields when struck by the staves, splitting and smashed to splinters.
9. Thunderously the battle raged while Kiṅkara and Gaṇa grappled hand-to-hand,
 And the army of the Gaṇas was destroyed under the onslaught, many men were lost or wounded.
 And so they advanced together in formation, and their advance could not be stemmed;
 The Kiṅkaras were now destroyed under a shower of arrows; many died and they could not rally themselves.
10. At the time when Yama's army was fleeing in fear without looking back at the foe,
 Then Ugrakarna advanced, attended by his multitudinous troops. In front bells and gongs boomed and cymbals clashed fearfully;
 The men were armed with lances and spears, others with staves and with short daggers.
11. Ugrakarna came swiftly forward bearing his dagger, which was very long,
 Just like a wild lion enraged at seeing a mighty enemy.
 He laid about himself and those struck sought in fear to flee, and seeing him were seized with fright.
 The necks of others were broken, slashed by the terrible dagger, and many died.

12. bhraṣṭāsin kaparag winuk sinusunan de niñ watēk Kiṅkara awrēg tañ bala tañ hana mrih apulih yar ton sahab niñ musuh kapwāningalakēn sikēpn̄ya malajōn muṅsir padōman kawēs sinhēl mwañ waju len karah kaluñ anekātingalan riñ raṇa
13. n̄kān maṅsō prawarōrdhwakeśa madulur sañ Puṣpadantāpuliḥ mawlas riñ balasaṅghya hēnti sinēsēb de niñ musuh sāhasa sakweh niñ bala śūrasāra sumaput muk wuk watēk Kiṅkara tēmpuhnyāpapagan smu guntur apagut norāharēp mundura
14. enak tañkēp ikañ lagā silih-usi sakwehnya śūrēñ raṇa amrañ-pinrañ amēk-pinēk mawunuhan dudw-añ mañohan winuk goñ kēṇḍaṅ gumuruh gubar mawurahan syok niñ surak ghūrṇita cañ ciñ ceñ kricik iñ curik mapapagan tañkis tikēl tañ waneḥ
15. saṅsō sañ sura Puṣpadanta mañatag wadwāmukāñadwakēn krodhāmbēk nikanañ balāprañ arurēk malwañ malēs mañlwañi kondur tañ bala Kiṅkara syuh inidēk sinlēk tinut yēnusi awrēg muṅsir i sañ tuhanya-n apupul kapwākukud yālayu

Canto 20. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. salihat irōgrakarṇa ri balanya śirṇa pinusus nikañ Gaṇabala dadi sumuyug masō mapagakēn ri tandañ ira Puṣpadanta tinuju irika ta Puṣpadanta wihikan prayatna riñ ulah matēk laras ira tuju nikañ Ugrakarṇa tinakisnya śighra tēka sāhasamarēpēki
2. surawara Puṣpadanta masikēp gadādbhuta huwus hanē tañan ira pinupuh irā cēñēl nikanañ Ugrakarṇa dadi yātakis luput ales wawañ umalēs ri khaḍga nika tikṣṇa kātara dilahnya bhāswara katon wahu mañayat sinep rinuhunan śirahnya pinupuh rēmuk ya katibā

12. (b) hanājmrih B; (c) muṅsi A; (d) ratha (instead of raṇa) C.
13. (a) -ākalih A.
14. (d) cañ ciñ cañ A; tañkēp tikēl C.
15. (a) maṅsō C; śura B; (b) malwañi B.

Canto 20.

1. (b) sumayut A; (d) tikañ BC.
2. (a) śurawara B; (b) anel (instead of ales) G.

12. All those who were overtaken were lost, as they were overwhelmingly attacked by the Kiṅkara cohorts;
The army broke into confusion and none sought to recover himself when he saw the throngs of enemies.
They all abandoned their weapons and fled, seeking a refuge in their fear;
Turbans and armour, rings and neck-bands of all kinds were left behind on the field.
13. Then the worthy Ūrdhwakeśa came forward together with Puṣpadanta to resume the fight,
Out of pity for their troops which were being completely cut to pieces by the violent enemy.
All the mighty heroes flocked to attack the Kiṅkara hosts,
And the assaulting forces met like streams of lava colliding, for neither would give way.
14. The clash of battle was in full swing as they pursued each other in turn, all of them valiant on the field,
Running each other through, exchanging dagger thrusts and slaughtering each other, while others who were hit lay groaning.
Gongs and kettledrums boomed, and the sound of cymbals was mingled with the din of lusty war-cries;
Cling, clang, cling rang the daggers as they struck each other, parrying, while others snapped in two.
15. When the divine Puṣpadanta moved forward and called on the men to go in, urging them on,
The troops were furious and struggled at close quarters, answering losses with losses.
The Kiṅkara army withdrew broken, as they were trampled and blocked, chased and pursued;
In disorder they sought their leaders, trying to gather, but all then retreated and fled.

Canto 20.

1. As soon as Ugrakarna saw that his army was being broken and defeated by the Gaṇa army,
He rushed headlong to the fore to resist the advance of Puṣpadanta, for whom he aimed.
Then Puṣpadanta saw him, and, on his guard, he bent his bow;
Warding off Ugrakarna's charge he quickly came and closed in on him ferociously.
2. The divine hero Puṣpadanta grasped his terrible club and held it ready in his hand;
He tried to strike Ugrakarna's neck, but he parried and the blow missed him as he dodged.
He promptly retaliated with his terrible, sharp dagger, and one could see its bright glitter;
He was just raising it when he was suddenly caught off guard;
his head was smashed and he fell.

3. ri pējah irōgrakarṇa magulaṇ-gulaṇ hana ri madhya niṇ pabharatan sahana nikaṇ watēk Yamabalāwrēg awri mulat in tuhanya kawēnaṇ sinusunan in warāstra pinanah tēkap prawara Puṣpadanta maṇuṣi mati sakasewu len mati tēkap nikaṇ Gaṇabalāmusus musuh amūk
4. makin alarāluyuk jriḥ alayū tikaṇ bala saśeṣa niṇ mati winūk tēka ta saṇ Antakātaṇa nimitta niṇ malayu śirṇa nora mapulih paḍa sumahur ta yāwara-warah ri līna niraṇ Ugrakarṇa kawēnaṇ tēkap ira Puṣpadanta ripuśūra riṇ samara nora wanya malaga

Canto 21. - - ∪ / - ∪ ∪ / ∪ - ∪ / ∪ - ∪ / - ∅

1. ri nīkā saṇ Antaka masō tinut in balākrēp sambut gadā nira satal kadi bajra riṇ twas saṇhāra śatru mara tatwa nika prasiddha len konta tikṣṇa hana riṇ hiriṇan tumaṅgō
2. saṇ Nīla rowaṇ iraṇ Antaka yar tumandaṇ mwaṇ Ghorawikrama parēṇ kumucup tumaṇḍih bajrāyudhanya dumilah lumarap kilatnya byaktēkanaṇ ripu tēlas pususeṇ tēkapnya
3. wadwanya sārṇwuda macakra dudu-ṇ magaṇḍi len taṇ makaṇḍa hana tomara saṇjatanya dukduk lipuṇ paraśu nāraca bhindiṇwāla sōk syuh pēnuh mawalikan gumuruh marampak
4. tandaṇ nirātri maṇḍak Gaṇasaṇghya tan jrili krodhē paratra nira saṇ prawarōgrakarṇa sakweh nikaṇ kahala śīghra maluy tumandaṇ mahyun makoliha ri jīwita niṇ suśatru
5. tātandwa taṇ praṇ aśēlur kadi rehnya nūni dukduk panah lumēpas in gagaṇāprameya kweh niṇ pējah tan iniwō tēkap in balāpraṇ lwir parwatā śawa maṇḍih atip matambēh

3. (b) mulatēṇ C; (c) śarāstra C.
4. (d) mapaga CG.

Canto 21.

1. (a) nīkā-n BC; (d) tumaṅgōṇ C.
3. (b) taṇ macakra C; (c) bhīṇḍipāla ABG, bhīṇḍiwāla D.
5. (d) matumaṇ (instead of matambēh) C.

3. At the death of Ugrakarna, lying there in the midst of the field,
All the troops of Yama's army looked on in confusion and fear at
their defeated general.
Overwhelmed by the arrows fired by the worthy Puṣpadanta
coming after them,
They died in thousands, and others were killed by the army of
Gaṇas, which routed the enemy in a wild assault.
4. More and more hard-pressed, exhausted and afraid the troops
which escaped death in the slaughter fled;
Then Antaka came and asked why they were running away in
defeat, without returning to the fray.
They answered and told the whole tale of the death of Ugrakarna,
and how he was overcome:
It was because of Puṣpadanta, the enemy hero in battle, that none
would dare to fight.

Canto 21.

1. Antaka then came forward, followed by his serried troops;
He grasped his club, great as a *lontar* palm, and hard as a thunder-
bolt.
The destruction of enemies was indeed its very nature,
And sharp spears stood fixed in the side.
2. Nila joined Antaka when he advanced,
And with Ghorawikrama they stormed overwhelmingly forward.
A glittering thunderbolt was his weapon, its lightnings flashing;
It was obvious the enemy would be annihilated by it.
3. Their men were countless — some bore discuses, others had
hammers;
Yet others had swords, and some had lances as weapons —
Pikes, javelins, axes, arrows or spears —
In a seething mass, milling together, they marched thundrously
onward.
4. With yells of glee they fearlessly attacked the Gaṇa multitude,
Furious over the death of the worthy Ugrakarna.
All those who had been battered swiftly returned to the fore,
Eager to take the lives of their great foes.
5. Before long the battle was resumed as before,
And javelins and arrows flew through the air in countless flights.
The number of dead went unheeded by the battling forces,
And corpses piled up like mountains, heaped higher and higher.

6. sañ śūrasāra mapagut paḍa tan hanāsor
wyarthâpanah kasulitan matēbah tar antuk
ñhiñ khaḍga tomara curik pinakā pamuknya
nā hetu niñ prañ arukēt jēmur in rañānga
 7. sowenya mañkana watēk Gaṇa keṇḍit akweh
de niñ musuhnya rinamēs sinēsēb sinēmpal
mundur kawös giri-girin mañusir paḍōman
sañ Puṣpadanta dinunuñnya tinūt tinampēk
 8. sañ Puṣpadanta kaparag rinēbut rinampak
sinrēg sinēp linēpasan śara diwyaśakti
sañ Ghorawikrama sahāntaka Nīla mañsō
kapwā mañēmbuli ri sañ sura Puṣpadanta
 9. tiñkah nira-n kinudupuñ tuwi tan wikāra
dhīrāñawe ri larut in balayodha mawrēg
he he waluy kita kabeh mapa hetu niñ jrih
tañkēp musuhta ri pējahku mēne pamundur
 10. nāhan wuwus nira-r atag balayodha mañswa
mañsō muwah sahana sañ malajōñ paḍāmrih
sañ Puṣpadanta mamapag prañ irē samañka
lāwan sirañ tiga hinēmbulan in warāstra
 11. tandañ nira-n tuju sañ Antaka śūra dhīra
tandwāpagut paḍa silih-palu riñ gadāstra
ri ñkā sira prawara Nīla mañuñḍa bajra
sañ Puṣpadanta dinuk aglis ales atañkis
 12. wahw ahyun añliwatanē sañ anāma Nīla
sañ Ghorawikrama sakē hiriñan mañañsō
bajrātitiḱṣṇa ya ta pañduk irāñiwārya
mogha-n tikēl tinakis in gada tan pasāra
-
6. (b) wyartha-ñ panah B, (D the same, but ñ added later); masulitan B; matēñah A.
 8. (a) rinampag B; (c) sañ Antaka C; (d) mañambuli B; śura B.
 9. (a) nika-n ADG; (d) mēne-n AG; pamundura G.
 10. (b) -ājrih A; (c) - 11d is lacking in C; apapag B, mapapag DG; prañ irā A; (d) hinambulan B.
 11. (a) tuhu D.
 12. (a) mähwāyun B; (b) sakēñ iriñan mañañswa C; sañañsō D; (c) mañduk B.

6. The most prominent of the heroes clashed, and none of them would yield;
In vain they tried to fire arrows, and being so tightly packed it was impossible to swing a punch.
Only daggers, lances and knives still served as weapons of assault,
And so the battle turned into a confused hand-to-hand struggle on the field.
7. After that had gone on some time all the Gaṇas were swept away;
Their enemies destroyed them, tore them to pieces and cut them up.
Terrified and panic-stricken they retired and sought a place to hide;
They headed for Puṣpadanta, while they were pursued and hammered at.
8. When the enemy reached Puṣpadanta he was overwhelmed wholesale;
By surprise they came upon him and released at him arrows of supernatural might.
Ghorawikrama, Antaka and Nīla advanced,
And all rushed on the heroic Puṣpadanta.
9. Under this massive attack he even so remained unperturbed,
And resolutely beckoned to his yielding troops who had fallen into disorder:
"Hey! Hey! Come back all of you, what is the cause for fear?
Face up to your foes! When I'm dead will be time enough to retreat."
10. Thus he spoke, urging his men to come forward,
And all those who had fled came forward again as best they could.
Puṣpadanta now joined battle with the enemy
And showered the trio with arrows.
11. He directed his attack against Antaka, that steadfast hero;
They immediately came to blows and each struck the other with clubs.
Then the worthy Nīla swung his thunderbolt,
And struck at Puṣpadanta, who parried, quickly dodging.
12. He was just attempting to pass by the one who was named Nīla,
When Ghorawikrama came in from the side;
A very sharp thunderbolt was his irresistible weapon,
But somehow it snapped, parried by the club and rendered powerless.

13. puṅgēl ni bajra nika śīghra tinūt tinēmpuh
kañcit sañ Antaka sakē kiwa yan pañaṅgul
yēka-n tujah gulu nirañ sura Puṣpadanta
tambis pējah yatika hetu nirān umundur

Canto 22. ◡ - ◡ / - - ◡ / ◡ - ◡ / - ◡

1. sōndur nirañ Puṣpadantēn rañāṅga
ikañ balājrih maluyuk kabehnya
pinrih winuk lyan hiniras pinatrēm
ikañ manolih winuyun ya pinrañ
2. waneh kēna trus ya mañentak-entak
tapwan linūd śabda nikāsrēt alwan
rika-n pējah tan kawēnañ matañhya
kedēk kasampar tēkap in balāwrēg

Canto 23. - - - / ◡ ◡ - / ◡ - ◡ / ◡ ◡ - / - - ◡ / - - ◡ / ◡

1. krodhāmbēk nirañ Ūrdhwakeśa lumihat riñ śūrasenālayū
śīghra-n tandañ amūk parēñ saha lawan sañ Wīrabhadrapulih
mañgēh sañ mañaran Prakarṣa madulur sañ Reṇukarṇōmasō
hrunyātap hibēk in nabhastala pētēñ sāksāt hudan yan tibā
2. śīrṇāsiñ mapulih watēk Yamabalākweh māti de niñ panah
sañ Nilāntaka Ghorawikrama parēñ mañswāmapag wuk nira
hetunya-ñ prañ awor silih suruñ añañḍit keñḍit akweh pējah
de niñ sāyaka bajra kañḍa binabad rampuñ gulunyānuhuk
3. hūn niñ wīra masinhanāda gumuruh lwir bēntara-ñ hambara
klab niñ ketu lawan tabēh-tabēhan atrī mwañ gubar ghūrṇita
tiñkah niñ karañāṅgayajña ginēlar sārthanya kempen kabeh
de sañ śūra ya marma niñ tan ahatiñ jīwanya mamrih musuh

13. (b) santaka A; sakēñ C; (c) śura B.

Canto 22.

1. (b) malayū A, maluyu BC, malaywa G; (c) winuknya-n AD, dinuknya-n G.
2. (b) linudan C; nirā- B; (c) ri ñkā-n B; (d) kasampā A, asampar CD.

Canto 23.

1. (a) nikañ A; (b) saha balā C; -āparēñ (instead of apulih) C, -āmūlih D, -ōpulih G; (d) hudan sāyaka C, -ya tibā G.
2. (c) keñḍit is missing in A, añañḍit keñḍit C; (d) -ānuhul G.
3. (d) ahati-ñ all MSS.

Notes to 23, 2d; 3c. See p. 150.

13. At the breaking of his thunderbolt he was swiftly pursued and attacked,
 But Antaka suddenly fought back from the left;
 He then pierced the throat of the divine Puṣpadanta,
 Who was all but killed, and therefore withdrew.

Canto 22.

1. After Puṣpadanta had retired from the field,
 And all his men were afraid and worn out,
 They were sought out and attacked, and some were stabbed with daggers,
 And those who looked back were angrily assailed.
2. Others were hit and run through and were moaning;
 Before they were finally dispatched their voices were hoarse and weak;
 Then they died, no longer able to rise,
 Trodden underfoot and trampled by the disordered army.

Canto 23.

1. Urdhwakeśa was furious when he saw the army of heroes fleeing,
 And quickly went to the attack, together with his partner Wira-
 bhadra, renewing the fight.
 Determinedly the one called Prakarṣa advanced, together with
 Renukarna;
 Their flights of arrows filled the sky, which darkened as if a shower
 of rain were falling.
2. Any of Yama's troops who attempted to return was destroyed,
 and many were killed by the arrows;
 Nila, Antaka and Ghorawikrama advanced together to meet their
 opponents' attack.
 Hence there arose a confused mêlée as they tried to push each other
 back and threw each other to the ground, so that many were
 killed,
 By the arrows, thunderbolts and swords; as they were mown down
 their necks were completely severed.
3. The shouting of the heroes was like the roaring of lions, raging
 as if the heavens would split;
 The fluttering of the flags, together with the drums and the
 cymbals, made a deafening noise.
 Everything was arranged for the sacrifice on the battlefield, and
 all the requirements for it were assembled there
 By the heroes, and hence they were heedless of their lives in
 seeking out the enemy.

4. lwir niñ yuddha kadiñ tulis kahiḍḍepanya-ñ hantu tatar liniñ
pak pok ghrañ dhwani niñ gadâgada-gadan syuh tañ paratrârê muk
len tañ krûra mamök linaḍḍesakên in tēḍas mataḍḍês pēgat
runtañ mastaka paṅgutuk nika silih duk riñ tañan len pupu
5. dukduk cakra parēñ lēpas hibēk in ākāśāsusun tan pēgat
tātan wyartha tibanya tandwa mañēnē wadwādhikākweh pējah
yēkānsō nira Wīrabhadra gumuluñ mwañ Prakarṣānuruñ
syuh bhraṣṭa-ñ kaparēk winuk cinacah in hru dhwasta cūrṇikṛta
6. aslūran malayū watēk Yamabalātingal sikēpnyālaga
pinrih sinrēg inuñsi nora mapulih prāptēñ paḍōman rusak
norātañhi rēbah bibab kakētēran mañlih luyuk katrēsan
mañkin durbala binwatan śarawarāsiñ kāri tambis pējah
7. ñkā sañ Nīla tumon sirēñ bala larut gēmpuñ tēkap niñ musuh
yatnādan mamēniñ warāstra ri tañan sampun pralabdhōmasō
tan len sañ sura Wīrabhadra paran in tinhal pinandēñ nira
tandwa-n tandañ ira-n kaduk pinulihan sinrēg tinañkis rinok
8. ry aṅsō sañ makanāma Nīla kalawan senāpramāṇēñ raṇa
tan wruh sañ Gaṇasaṅghya yan pinulihan kagyat tinampēk tinūt
aglis riñ hiriñan binotan inirup tan wriñ dayanyōmurud
kedran sañkan iki-n tēlas kapēpētan sampun kasēñkwan kabeh
9. marmanya-ñ Gaṇasena śīrṇa mananā de niñ lawanya-n winūk
pinrañ sinrēg inuñsi yēnubat-abit riñ khaḍga len kaṇḍaga
alwang sewu pējah cinakra tinujah riñ bhindiwālādbhuta
dudwikañ mati kedēkan hiniras in patrēm mañohan linūd

4. (a) kadi tulis CG; (b) dwanikañ B; (d) hruntañ A.

5. (a) ākāśa-ñ susun AD; (c) tumuluñ C.

6. (b) kawēs (instead of rusak) C; (c) bibal D; katrēpan G; (d) tan wun pējah G.

7. (a) gēmpur D (C corrupt); (b) mamēnēñ G; prarabdhō- BC, praraṇḍō- A; (d) tandwātandañ C; dinun (instead of kaduk) C.

8. (d) kapēpēhan G; kapēñkwan A.

9. (a) dinuk C.

4. The fight presented a spectacle as in a painting, it seemed. No-one cared about the dead.
Thump, thud, crunch went the sound of the clubs which broke against each other — those who were killed were dashed to bits. There were others who hacked wildly and were themselves used as blocks for the heads, which were cleanly severed;
Crushed were the skulls which they threw, while they thrust at each other with arms and legs.
5. Javelins and discuses were hurled together and filled the air in unbroken waves;
Not in vain did they come to earth, and unerringly struck the valiant troops, of whom many died.
Then Wirabhadra came rolling forward, together with Prakarṣa, pressing onward;
Smashed and destroyed were those whom they overtook, cut to bits by the arrows, broken and shattered.
6. Rank upon rank the legions of Yama fled, abandoning their weapons in the strife;
Fiercely assailed and chased they did not return, and battered reached their refuge.
Having fallen they could not rise, bruised and trembling, exhausted and worn out, stricken with panic;
Weaker and weaker, they were showered with arrows, so that he who stayed behind was bound to die.
7. When Nila saw how his men were yielding, shattered by the enemy,
Intently preparing he took his weapons in his hand, and when he was ready he advanced.
On none other than the hero Wirabhadra did he hold his eye fixed, gazing at him;
But straightway his attack was intercepted and by way of counter-attack he was warded off in a man-to-man fight.
8. At the advance of the one named Nila with his army, incomparable in the strife,
The hosts of Gaṇas, not realizing that they were being counter-attacked, were assaulted and routed by surprise.
They were swiftly pressed and overwhelmed on the flanks, and not knowing what to do, they fell back;
But they were surrounded and therefore cut off, and were all cornered.
9. Thus it came about that the army of the Gaṇas was crushed and overthrown by the assault of their adversaries;
They were attacked, pursued, chased and laid about with clubs and swords.
They suffered losses a thousand-fold, and died hit by discuses or pierced by terrible spears;
Still others died trampled underfoot or stabbed with daggers, and moaning they were finished off.

Canto 24. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. siran prawara Wīrabhadra sinēsōr
tēkap nirañ anāma Nīla suyaśa
gadāyudha huwus hanē tañan ira
harēp mupuha Wīrabhadra saphala
2. sēḍēñ nira mupuh rikañ gada magōñ
wawañ tinakis in kṛtāla niśita
parēñ tikēl ikañ warāyudha kalih
mabaddha wēkasan silih-prēp apēluk
3. duwēg nira silih-tēhak silih-arug
titih prañ ira Wīrabhadra kasēsēr
kapōsan ira kōrdhwakeśa lumihat
parēñ tēka lawan Prakarṣa matuluñ
4. rikā ta sura Wīrabhadra matahēñ
malap niśitakonta bhāswara lumōñ
sirañ prawara Nīla tan wruh in ulah
arēp muruda sakṣaṇādan amuwah
5. sēḍēñ niki kēdō mapakṣa muruda
wawañ ywa dinuk in warāstra niśita
ndatan wruh i ḍatēñ nikañ śarawara
tatan dwa mañēñē jajanya tumanēm

Canto 25. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. ri lina nira Nīla tañ bala murud kabeh yālayu
arēs mulat i śakti niñ ripukulātilar sañjata
parēñ puluh ikañ pējah parēñ atus matiṇḍih rēbah
winuk tēkap ikañ watēk Gaṇabalātiśūrēñ raṇa
2. mulat mara sañ Antakē larut ikañ balātry-ālayu
murub dilah ikañ matānatagakēñ watēk Kiñkara
arah kita pamañsē śighra tulunī watēktālara
sirañ prawara Nīla rakwa kawēnañ warahnyē ñhulun

Canto 24.

2. (a) ikañ B; (d) magaddha G.
3. (a) sira G; (c) kawōsan(?) A; ira-ñ Urdhwa- C.
4. (a) patahēr A; (b) malap tikita C; (c) prawira CD; (d) umuwah G.
5. (b) ya CG.

Canto 25.

2. (a) Antakā A.

Note to 24, 3c; see p. 150.

Canto 24.

1. The worthy Wirabhadra was driven back
By his illustrious opponent named Nīla;
The club was already in his hand,
With which he hoped to strike Wirabhadra to good effect.
2. But just when he struck with the great club,
It was straightway parried with a sharp knife;
Both the splendid weapons snapped at once,
And they ended up locked together, punching each other in an
embrace.
3. While they were stabbing and cutting at each other,
Wirabhadra was hard pressed in the fight, and was driven back.
But Ūrdhawakeśa saw how exhausted he was,
And came together with Prakarṣa to his aid.
4. Then the divine Wirabhadra stood his ground,
And seized his keen lance which glittered brightly.
The worthy Nīla knew not what to do;
He was about to yield, but then prepared himself anew.
5. Just as he was being forced to withdraw,
He was all at once pierced by a sharp arrow;
Without his seeing the arrow coming,
Unerringly it struck his breast and buried itself there.

Canto 25.

1. At the death of Nīla the army withdrew and all of them fled;
Panic-stricken at seeing the strength of the enemy, they abandoned
their arms;
In dozens and in hundreds the dead piled up,
Attacked by the hosts of the Gaṇa army, mighty heroes in battle.
2. When Antaka saw how his troops were yielding in tumultuous
flight,
The light in his eyes gleamed as he called up the hosts of Kīṅkaras:
"Come on, advance at once and help our harassed troops,
The worthy Nīla has been overcome, mark you, so they have
told me.

3. matañ ni kapusus musuhta sahananya haywâtakut
papag kucupi riñ warāyudha sakê tēñēn mwañ kiwa
sakê wuri pēḍēk ramēs rima-rimah cacah riñ śara
ñhulun pinakarowañanta mapaga-ñ musuh śaktiman
4. wuwus nira tēhēr tumandañ anēḍak musuh nirbhaya
tinūt ni pamuk iñ balāñamah-amah masö sāhasa
rikā-n ta salēsēk watēk Gaṇa tinañkisan durbala
bubar katalayah rēbah binabad iñ mahākāṇḍaga
5. sañ Antaka tumon ri sañ prawara Wīrabhadṛabūtēñ
asēñhit i paratra Nila tēkap iñ Gaṇāñēmbuli
ya kāraṇa nira-n panambut irikañ lipuñ bhīṣaṇa
ndatan salah ikañ linakṣa jaja Wīrabhadṛēñēñēr
6. wawañ lēpas ikañ lipuñ saka ri hasta sañ Hantaka
barat kumusuh iñ raṇāṅga mamusus musuh kātara
sakēñ anin-aninya wet ni bañēt iñ lēpasnyēñ tañan
tibānya mañēñē jaja prawara Wīrabhadra-n tibā
7. nda yēki tinuluñ tēkap nira watēk Gaṇēñ paprañan
matañhi wēkasan murud kasakitan sawet niñ lara
Prakarṣa mamapag sañ Antaka sēḍēñ nira-n garwita
paḍānuju silih-tuju prañ ira met silib niñ wulat
8. byatīta ri sēḍēñ nirārēp-arēpan paḍāmrih silib
ikañ bala parēñ mamuk mapapagan mawantah muwah
patañkēp ira sañ prawīra manēmu prawīrāpagut
tan ahyun alahāñusir kawijayanya riñ paprañan
9. Prakarṣa mamatēk laras nira huwus ya pūrṇāwēlu
gulū nira sañ Antakēnarah-arah nira-n tar waneh
lēpas nika sañ Antaka wruh umiñēr luput sakṣaṇa
lēpas pyah ira sañ Prakarṣa tinujunya riñ tomara

3. is missing in G.

3. (a) matañ nika musus C; (d) mapagēñ C.

4. (c) rikā-n kasalēsēk CG; (d) kasulayah G.

5. (b) masēñhit A; (d) salah tiki-n C; -āñēñēr A, -āñēsēr B, -ēñēsēr C, -abēñēr G.

6. (a) kāsta ABD, tañan G; iñ Hantaka G, sñ Antakā BCD.

7. (c) garwata AD; (d) pet ADG.

8. (b) ya mapapan ABD, yapapagan G.

9. (c) i miñör B, umilag G.

3. Therefore your enemies must be destroyed, every one of them —
do not be afraid,
Go and meet them and overwhelm them with splendid weapons
from right and from left;
Approach them from the rear, crush them and smash them, cut
them up with your arrows;
I will act as your companion when you go to meet the mighty
enemy."
4. Thus he spoke and then went forward, assaulting the enemy
fearlessly,
Followed by the threatening attack of his army which was ad-
vancing tempestuously.
It was then that the troops of Gaṇas were hard pressed, made
powerless by this counter-attack;
They scattered, lying flattened all about, mown down by great
daggers.
5. When Antaka saw the worthy Wirabhadra he became infuriated,
Embittered at the death of Nīla inflicted by the attacking Gaṇas;
And therefore he took his dreadful spear,
And did not miss the mark, the breast of Wirabhadra, at which he
took his aim.
6. Straightway flew the spear from the hand of Antaka;
A gust of wind raged over the battlefield, destroying the affrighted
foe,
As a result of the draught caused by the speed with which it flew
from his hand.
It descended to strike the breast of the worthy Wirabhadra, who
fell.
7. But he was aided by the hosts of Gaṇas on the battlefield,
And finally arose and withdrew, disabled because of the pain.
Prakaśa went to meet Antaka, while the latter was still blazing
with warlike spirit;
They headed for each other and in their duel tried to trick each
other with their eyes.
8. We pass over the time they faced and each tried to outmanoeuvre
the other;
Their armies attacked at once, meeting and coming to blows again.
In their struggle hero met hero, grappling together;
They had no inclination to give in, and pursued their victory in
the battle.
9. Prakaśa bent his bow, and when it was fully rounded
He aimed at Antaka's throat, and it alone,
But when he fired Antaka managed to turn and then it missed —
Prakaśa on his part dodged as Antaka aimed at his side with
a lance.

10. prayatna sira sañ Prakarṣa mamapag widagdhēn ulah
matēk laras irādbhutāwēlu warāstra tan pantara
yatēka rumubuñ sañ Antaka baiun marēs kāpuhan
lumud tēka nirōrdhwakeśa saha Reṇukarṇānuruñ

Canto 26. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. sēḍēñ nira hinēmbulan hinudanan warāstra rinēbut
Pracaṇḍa saha Caṇḍa Kāla Parameṣṭimṛtyu matuluñ
samāñlēpasakēñ warāstra pēnuh iñ nabhastala pēpēt
tabēh-tabēhan atri goñ saha gubar dhwaniya kumusuh
2. susena ri harēp nirāsulu-suluñ manēmpuh asusun
piran yuta kunēñ wilanña hibēkan tikañ raṇasabha
yatāñrimah amuk watēk Gaṇa kawēs tanora mapulih
maniñgal i tuhanya met hurip arēs mulat kakētēran
3. samañkana tēwēk nikañ bala Gaṇāluḥyuk malaradan
pējah sakasalakṣa sewu sinēsēb nikañ Yamabala
dudu-ñ kanin añēmbak-ēmbak i jajanya bāhu manana
pēgat wētis ikā waneh sinapu riñ makaṇḍa binabad
4. yatāñmahakēñ takut sahana sañ watēk Gaṇabala
yatēka mukha niñ musuh kalihatan pijēr ya malayu
tinut binuru riñ warāstra ginalah kinaṇḍa tinujah
hanēka mati kedēkan kasēsēkan hawan kapipitan
5. Gaṇapramukha Reṇukarṇa lawan Ūrdhwakeśa malajōñ
Prakarṣa kari kesisan ri palajōñ watēk Gaṇabala
tinampēk i samūha niñ musuh amuk tinub kinurubut
sudhīra mañadēg ndatan jrih i pamuk nikañ ripukula

10. (a) milagiñ A, magaliñ D, magali G (instead of mamapag); (c) arēs C;
(d) -ōnuruñ C.

Canto 26.

2. (c) -āñripah G; (d) pet ABD.
3. (d) ikañ AD; sinawur iñ C.
4. (d) hapan D; kapēpētan CG.
5. (d) panūb (instead of pamuk) ABD.

10. On his guard Prakarṣa, skilled in action, went to meet him ;
 He drew his terrible bow and bent it round — the arrows soared
 without a break.
 They showered Antaka, who seemed to be shattered with fright,
 And moreover Ūrdhwakeśa and Reṇukarṇa came pushing forward.

Canto 26.

1. While he was thus being attacked and overwhelmed by a shower
 of weapons,
 Praçaṇḍa and Caṇḍa, Kāla and Parameṣṭimṛtyu came to his aid.
 They released their weapons all together, so that the sky was
 filled with them ;
 The drums echoed loudly, and the gongs and cymbals made a
 thundrous noise.
2. The fine army in front of them, thick as flying ants, attacked in
 formation,
 Some millions in number, and the field of battle swarmed with
 them.
 They made a crushing attack on the hosts of Gaṇas, who for fear
 could not rally themselves ;
 Abandoning their leaders they ran for their lives in fright, trem-
 bling as they looked back.
3. That was the time when the exhausted armies of Gaṇas were wiped
 out ;
 They died by the thousand and by the hundred-thousand, over-
 whelmed by the troops of Yama.
 Some had open, bleeding wounds on their chest or arms which
 were smashed,
 And others had their lower legs cut off, slashed by a swordsman
 and mown down.
4. This inspired fear among all the hosts of the Gaṇa army ;
 At the mere sight of a hostile face they would run ;
 But they were followed and hunted down with splendid weapons,
 pierced with lances, cut with swords and stabbed ;
 Some died trampled underfoot, so that the way was completely
 blocked by them.
5. The generals of the Gaṇas, Reṇukarṇa and Ūrdhwakeśa, fled,
 And Prakarṣa was left behind, exposed by the flight of the whole
 Gaṇa army.
 He was harassed by the multitude of attacking enemies, who
 stormed him in masses,
 But he stood firm and had no fear for the attack of the enemy.

6. śarāgni winatēk nirādbhuta murub dilahnya kumutug
yatāngēsēni śatru siñ tēka hanēn harēp nira hilañ
wawañ matēmahan hawū sakaparag wiśirṇa katunu
tēkap nikanan agni tan papēgatan murub mañabaran
7. prayatna siran Antakādbhuta tumon balātri katunu
rikāñēbañ-ēbañ warāyudha tēhēr jalāhwana ḍatēñ
hudan makēcēkan tibāmaḍēmi śastrabahni sakala
pējah nikañ apuy sañ Antaka sirōjar anhuman-uman
8. aḍā ndya pañayāyamu-ñ makañaran Prakarṣa wulati
ikañ sakala pāwakālilañ awas tēkapku wiphala
nihan malēsa tāku toh wulati śakti-n uṅgu ri tañan
ikañ humalapēñ huripmu palalun pējahmu niyata
9. wuwus nira tēhēr dumūk anin-aninya kadhbhuta dahat
ndatan dwa mañēnē wijañ nira sura Prakarṣa kasilib
sukhāmbēk iran Antakānudiñi mojar apyak asugal
hahah ndya wēnañamwa yan mapaga śakti niñ kadi kami

Canto 27. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. ri mañkana nirañ Prakarṣa tinuluñ prawīra sawatēk Gañāsusun amuk
Mahodara sa-Piṅgalākṣa saha Somawarṇa madulur lawan Gañaratha
sirēka pinakādi niñ Gaṇa suśakti riñ samara śūrasāra nipuṇa
parēñ masē sawañ kilat larap in astra sañka ri dhanuh nirānarawata
2. prawīrabala riñ harēp nira salakṣa koṭi gumuluñ marampak asusun
dudu-ñ ri wuri len hanan ri hiriñan tumandañ asuluñ-suluñ wijah umuñ
gadāstra saha tomarāstra saha bhindiwāla winawanya tan papēgatan
mṛdaṅga gumuruh lawan dhwaḍa bañun kilat layu-layunya kadrēsan anin

6. (a) murud G; (c) hapū C; sakapapag A; (d) narabarab G.
7. (b) jalāwana AC, jalāwwaha G; sira (instead of ḍatēñ) BCD; (c) makēcēhan BCD; naśtrabahni C, haśtrabahni G.
9. (a) hañin- ACG, aninakinya D; (b) wiśirṇa ni sura C, wiji nira sura D, ri jīwita nira G; sira śurā B.

Canto 27.

1. (a) mañka nika sañ C; matuluñ D; (d) sa (instead of sawañ) D, sawar G; kilat kalap D; ikañ warāstra ri G.
2. (b) riñ iriñan A; (c) gadāstra hana C.

Note to 26, 9d; see p. 150.

6. He drew the Fire-Arrow and its light flamed marvellously, blazing upward;
This consumed the enemy, and any who came before him were destroyed.
They straightway turned to ash, and all whom he encountered were totally incinerated
By the fire which continually blazed and flared.
7. But Antaka was on the alert, amazed to see how his clamorous troops were being burned;
He called for a splendid weapon, and then the arrow Water Summoner came.
Rain came rushing down and put out the Fire Weapon completely:
When the fire was extinguished Antaka called, railing at him:
8. "Hey, where is your strength now, you who bear the name Prakarṣa? See here!
All that fire has been swept away, clearly made useless through my doing.
Thus shall I repay you: Come, look at the mighty weapon which lies in my hand!
It will take your life; accept your certain death!"
9. Thus he spoke and then struck with his Wind Weapon, a great marvel,
And unerringly hit the breast of the divine Prakarṣa, who was caught unawares.
Antaka was delighted, and pointing at him said, ranting harshly:
"Aha, now let us see you face up to the power of someone like me."

Canto 27.

1. At that point Prakarṣa was aided by the heroes — the whole Gaṇa army attacked in formation;
Mahodara with Piṅgalākṣa, as well as Somawarṇa and Gaṇaratha too,
They were the leaders of the Gaṇas, very mighty in battle and the capable core of the heroes;
Together they advanced, and the flash of the arrows which ceaselessly left their bows was like lightning.
2. The heroic armies before them in countless numbers rolled onward in closed formation;
Some approached from the rear and some from the flanks, thick as flying ants and shouting lustily.
Clubs, lances and spears they carried in unbroken ranks;
The drums boomed and the flags were like lightning as their pennants were whipped by the wind.

3. ri tandan ira sañ watēk Gaṇa kabeh makādi sura Piṅgalākṣa dinulur lawan sapinasuk nikañ Śiwapadāniriñ ri sira kapwa tan hana kari patañkēp i pamuknya tan hana murud tuhun linalu siñ pējah pinulihan ya hetu nikanai lagārurēk arañkit alwañ amalēs ya mañlwañi musuh

Canto 28. - - - / - ~ - / - ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ - - / ~ - - / ~ - ~

1. nā lwir niñ prañ silih-tañkis anarug-inarug tan hana jrih silih-tub mañsō sañ Piṅgalākṣāmapagakēñ i pamuk sañ watēk Kiñkarākweh sukweh sañ śūra riñ Kiñkarakula mapapag len Gaṇātyanta wīra amrañ-pinrañ khinaḍḡādēḡ-adēḡan iniras kinris amwah kaninya
2. tiñkah niñ yuddha ri ñkāsēmu tasik apagut tēmpuh in wīrayodha lagyāḡēntēr kētug niñ gubar abaruñ awidyut warāstrēñ tawañ sōk kañkēñ dhūmānadēḡ tañ dhwaja ri pasalēsēknyāsawañ megha mēṇḍun syok umwañ śabda ghūrṇa-ñ surak asēmu kētēr niñ patēr niñ bahitra
3. tandwāsor paprañ in Kiñkarakula kapusus kañlihan tan wruh in rāt yēka-n tandan prawirāntaka mapagakēñ in Piṅgalākṣātisūra seriñ mwañ sañ Pracaṇḍātuluñ i larut ikañ yodha sāmanta bhṛtya sāksāt guntur sakēñ parwataśikhara gumēntus balanyāṅgaluntañ
4. tandan sañ rwāparēñ mañlēpasi śarawarāmrih ri sañ Piṅgalākṣa tātan wantēñ tumēmpuh ri sira linuputan lāghawāles arampiñ mañsō sarwy-āñayat hrū nira linēpasakēñ sāyutēñ mantra siddhi tandwāntuk sañ Pracaṇḍālara kēna pinanah wāmabāhunya sēmpal

3. (b) -āñhiriñ AD; (d) arañkim BD.

Canto 28.

1. (a) nāhan lwir niñ silih G; (c) papagan mwañ C; (d) amwas G.
2. (b) awiṭyut(?) B.
3. (a) wriñ rāt ya A, wriñ rātnya BCD.
4. (b) -āñles CG; (c) sañyutēñ ABD.

Note to 28,2; see p.150.

3. At the advance of all the Gaṇas, headed by the divine Piṅgalākṣa and his men,
With all those who were numbered among the inhabitants of Śiwa's heaven accompanying him, none were left behind.
Once they closed to the attack none fell back; indeed they ignored the dead as they returned to the fore,
And so the battle developed into a confused *melée*, and in return for losses they would inflict losses on the enemy.

Canto 28.

1. Such was the way they warded each other off and tried to destroy each other, and without any of them knowing fear they clashed together.
Piṅgalākṣa advanced in order to meet the attack of the numerous hosts of Kinkaras.
All the champions of the Kinkara side went to meet the Gaṇas, who were exceedingly valiant;
They cut at each other with swords and while standing face to face they were cut and krissed, and their wounds gaped.
2. The scene of the battle then looked like the sea, as the heroic warriors clashed together;
Like thunder was the rumble of cymbals resounding, and like lightning were the numerous weapons in the sky.
As smoke rose the flags, and in their density looked like a spreading field of cloud.
Loud roared the voices, and the shouting boomed like the crash of the thunder of ships.
3. Soon the Kinkara party was worsted and crushed in the fight; they were so exhausted that they lost their heads.
It was then that the heroic Antaka advanced, and met the brave Piṅgalākṣa,
Together with Pracāṇḍa, to aid their fleeing warriors, vassals and servants.
Like a stream of lava from the peak of a mountain, so their army crashed sweepingly forward.
4. In their attack these two fired their splendid arrows together, aiming at Piṅgalākṣa,
But nothing struck him — he escaped them by agilely dodging, nimble as he was.
He advanced while drawing his arrows which he released in great numbers with an effective magical formula,
And at once he hit Pracāṇḍa, who was painfully struck by the shot, which ripped off his left arm.

5. krodhâmbëk sañ watëk Kiñkara parëñ añasö Piñgalâkşën rañānga hrūnyâtip nāgapāśānalad-alad awilët śighra mañduk larinya ñkān rampuñ de nikañ hrū Khagapati pamapag Piñgalâkşâtisakti wyarthâpan tan hana wyat paḍa pëgat ananā de nikañ hrū Khagendra
6. sañ Kālātyanta riñ krodha magalak i hilañ niñ śara wyālapāśa śighra-n tandañ matëk margāṇa nira mañaran śastra sañ Kīrṇasakti tēmpuhnyēñ ambarâtip ḍëḍët asëmu hudan kāla niñ māghamāsa kabwañ de niñ samīrāstra kumusuh amusuh śastra kedër kawañsul
7. lwir bhraṣṭa-ñ swarga wet niñ baribin i pataruñ niñ prañ añde bhramanta giñgañ katrëg tēkap niñ śarawara mapagut kaplëñen sañ watëk hyañ sañ hyañ śakrâtakut mogha salah añen-añen lwir tēka-ñ śatru mañke āpan de niñ surak ghūrñitatara karëñö riñ trilokāmañun rës
8. tan mampëh tañ pracañḍānila musus i watëk Kiñkara dhwasta kabwañ cakra mwañ bajra kontādulur ika tumibānyuh musuh śīrṇa cūrṇa sakweh sañ wīrasinñhēñ rañakula sumuyug-n ton luyuk niñ ripu wrëg mañkin tañ lwañ matumpuk pëjah inawur-awur bhraṣṭa de niñ warāstra
9. sañ Cañḍa mwañ Pracañḍādi nika kasakitan wakṣa bēntar binajra dudwa-ñ timpañ gigañ bāhu nika hana siwak mastakanyāñkas-añkas sakweh sañ puñgawēñ Kiñkarakula mananā syuh katatwan kabehnya tapwan wantēñ wutuh śīrṇa tatu nika rujit de nikañ hrū tumēmpuh
10. tan wriñ de sañ watëk Kiñkarakula tēkap in sañjatākweh tan ampëh sañ Kāla mwañ sirañ Antaka paḍa makukud kapyuhan tan pasāra tan tolih dharma niñ yuddha saka ri këtër in twas manon yodha śīrṇa nāhan hetunya-n undur malajëñ añusi jōñ Dharmarājëñ kaḍatwan

5. (b) -ānalag-alag D.
6. (c) -ātis G; (d) kabuñcañ (instead of kawañsul) C.
7. (b) katrag C, kasrëg G.
8. (c) sumuyug BC; (d) kalwañ (instead of tañ lwañ) B; (h)atumpuk ABGD; -awū A.
9. (d) tuwuh AG (tutuh changed into wutuh D); tata AG.
10. (d) hetunya mundur C; -rājë A, -rājyēñ B.

Note to 28, 8c; 9d. See pp.150-151.

5. The hosts of Kiṅkaras arose in fury, and together they advanced on Piṅgalākṣa on the battlefield.
They fired a mass of Snake-Snare arrows which sped through the air with licking and twisting flames,
Only to be broken by the Bird-King arrow with which the mighty Piṅgalākṣa answered their attack;
They were in vain, for they had no power; they were all broken and smashed by the Bird-King arrow.
6. Kāla was exceedingly angry and raged at the loss of the Snake-Snare arrows;
He swiftly attacked, and drew his arrow which bore the name Mass-Power.
This roared through the air which was completely filled by it; it looked like rain in the month of Māgha,
But it was carried along by the rushing Wind-Arrow which swept away the other — it was turned around and sent back.
7. It was as if the heavens were collapsing because of the chaotic clash of battle which caused a state of turmoil;
The divine hosts staggered and were aghast because of the collision of the splendid arrows, and were utterly dazed.
The god Śakra was disturbed and somehow did not know what to make of it, as if an enemy were coming;
Such was indeed the effect of the terrible shouting, which was audible in the three worlds, arousing terror.
8. Far from dying down the furious wind swept away the hosts of Kiṅkaras, so that they were destroyed and carried off;
Discuses, thunderbolts and lances fell as well, destroying the enemy and smashing him to pieces.
All the heroic lions among the soldiery rushed up when they saw how exhausted and confused the enemy was;
The losses increased, the dead piled up, thrown into disorder and destroyed by the splendid weapons.
9. Caṇḍa and Pracāṇḍa were the most prominent of those who were grievously hit — their chests were split by a thunderbolt;
Others were crippled or had dislocated shoulders, while some had their heads split and were in the last convulsions.
All the generals of the Kiṅkara armies were crushed or badly wounded without exception;
They were so badly wounded that there were none still whole, broken by the pounding arrows.
10. The armies of the Kiṅkaras were at their wits' end because of the unabating flood of weapons;
Kāla and Antaka both withdrew, baffled and powerless.
They paid no heed to the code of battle, panic-stricken at the sight of the defeated warriors;
This is why they withdrew and fled, seeking refuge at the feet of Dharmarāja in his palace.

Canto 29. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - ~ - / ~ ~ ~

1. kālanyālayu sañ watēk Yamabalākukud umusi ri jōn Yamādhipa
sakweh sañ Gaṇasaṅghya kapwa ya murud mari mañusi musuh nirēn raṇa
mantuk śīghra parēn wijah-wijah iñ ambara sukha saha Lubdhakātmaka
ñkanēn puṣpaka riñ harēp hiniriñ iñ Gaṇa-gaṇa wijayēn raṇāṅgana
2. tan warṇan sira riñ hēnu krama parēn tēka humusapi jōn Jagatpati
lāwan Lubdhaka śīghra nanya ri bhaṭāra pinapag iñ ujar manohara
bhāgya-n prāpta bapañku sañ paramadharma suyaśa atisatya riñ brata
ñke ñke tāparēk i ñhulun sipi girañ mami bapa ri ḍatēnta ri ñhulun
3. nāhan donkw añutus watēk Gaṇa humundaña kita ḍatēñēn Śīwālaya
atyantēki rēṇañku denta mamañun brata paramapawitra tan sipi
mañke pwēki nihan tēmunta phala niñ gumawayakēn ikañ bratādhika
sakweh niñ Gaṇasaṅghya tan hana liwat-liwata ri kita mukhya katwañan
4. lāwan toh tariman tēkapta pañanugraha mami ri kita ndatan salah
astw-āñēmwa śārira mukhya sahanēn Śīwapada saha ratnapuṣpaka
mukhyāñ aṣṭaguṇānimādi paḍa kasraha ri kita lawan trilocana
salwir niñ warabhūṣaṇārja makabhūṣaṇa mami ya ta kawwatē kita
5. kantēnanya tanora bheda ni hawakta lawan iki śārira ni ñhulun
sāsiñ rāmya nikiñ Śīwālaya kitēka wihikana mamuktya tar waneh
yāwat pañca mahādibhūta salawasnya-n inajarakēn iñ jagattraya
tāwat mañkana tēkihēn lawasananta tumēmu sukha riñ Śīwālaya
6. mañkānugraha sañ hyaṇ Īśwara sinēmbahakēn ikañ anāma Lubdhaka
atyantēki mēñēn-mēñēnya tēkap iñ paramawara paweh hyaṇ Īśwara
tuṣṭāmbēknya-n amiśra dewa tuwi tan papahi lawan awak Jagatguru
mañgēh kāraṇa niñ samañkana sakēñ brata Śīwarajani ndatan kalen

Canto 29.

3. (d) katwaña BC.
4. (c) ādimāṇi ADG, ādimāḍi B, ādimāṇi C; kaśraha AB, kaśrah i C, kaśrah D; (d) kapwatē A, katwañē G.
5. (a) kantēñhikya G; (b) ri Śīwālaya ya kitēka B, rikiñ G; kitāta AG; (d) niñ AG; surālaya C.
6. (d) ndya tan all MSS.

Note to 29, 5d; see p. 151.

Canto 29.

1. When the troops of Yama fled defeated and sought their refuge
at the feet of Yamādhipa,
All the troops of Gaṇas withdrew and ceased pursuing their enemies
in battle.
Happy and elated they swiftly returned together through the sky
with the soul of Lubdhaka;
There in the chariot in front it was accompanied by the Gaṇas,
victorious in the strife.
2. We need not describe them on their way; in due course they
together came to bring their homage at the feet of Jagatpati;
And Lubdhaka also quickly bowed before the Lord, and was greeted
with kind words:
"It is fortunate that you have come, my dear fellow, you who excel
in devotion to duty and are meritorious through the great
fidelity with which you fulfil vows,
Here! Here! Come close by me, I am so pleased that you have
come to me.
3. "That was the reason why I despatched the hosts of Gaṇas to
invite you to come to Śiwa's heaven.
I am exceedingly obliged to you that you have kept a vow of
supreme holiness without faltering.
So this is the reward which you shall now receive for carrying out
that excellent vow:
Of all the hosts of Gaṇas there is no-one who will excel you, who
have earned the highest respect.
4. "So come now, receive my mark of favour toward you without fail;
Indeed, you shall receive the most noble form of all who inhabit
Śiwa's heaven, as well as a jewelled carriage.
Firstly the eight powers, to begin with the power of becoming as
small as an atom, will be granted you, as well as the three eyes;
All the kinds of worthy and fine attire which I have as my own
attire will be offered to you.
5. "Clearly there will be no distinction between your body and this
body of mine;
Whatever is charming here in Śiwa's heaven you will indeed be
able to enjoy, and no-one else.
For as long as the five great basic elements are taught in the three
worlds,
So long will you thus enjoy bliss in Śiwa's heaven."
6. Such was the boon of the god Īśwara while he was being paid
homage by him who was called Lubdhaka;
He was exceedingly amazed by the most excellent gifts which were
granted by the god Īśwara.
He was delighted that he had assumed a divine form and was no
different from the shape of the Teacher of the World;
Without any doubt the reason for this was the vow of the Night
of Śiwa, and nothing else.

1. byāṭita gati saṇ huwus kṛtawarādhika ri pada bhāṭāra Śaṅkara ikaṇ Yamabalōjarēn muwah i sampun ika paḍa tēkēn Yamālaya sumēmbah i bhāṭāra Dharma tēhēr aṇhusapi harinēt in jajōmēlēs parēn majarakēn ri tan kawēnaṇ in adhamatara manāma Lubdhaka
2. paṇēmbah i patikta tiṇhalana tan sipi-sipi wiran i ṇhulun kabeh ri tan kawēnaṇ in pakonta tumibē kami humalapa Lubdhakātmaka tēlas sinikēp i ṇhulun hinapusanku-n atisaya subaddha tan wihaṇ arēp wawanēn i ṇhulun mulih awas haturakēna ri jōnta tar waneh
3. wawaṇ ḍatēn ikaṇ watēk Gaṇa kabeh rumēbut iriya saṅka ri ṇhulun kunēn ri pawarahnya rakwa winēkas tēkap ira Paśupaty ameta ya praśasta paṇucapnya pūrwaka makon aṇuwakēna ri puṇkulan juga tuhun kami kabeh wihaṇ ri sawuwusnya kumanēnētakēn salin prabhu
4. ri maṅkana nikāparēn ta ya maṇēmbuli paḍa masikēp warāyudha si Lubdhaka tēlas pinetnya ḍatēn in Śiwabhawana wimānasādhana ṇwaṇ amrih aṇusi kēdō ri kakēnanya hinatēran ikaṇ watēk Gaṇa tēkāmraṇ amupuh ya hetu nika tan kakēna tēkap i saṇhulun kabeh
5. arēs ṇwaṇ umulat ri denya paḍa garwita sajuru-jurunya bhīṣaṇa hanan tiga śirahnya len lima dudu-ṇ tiga mata nika rin samaṅkana caturbhujā waneh mahasta daśa len śata sama ya dhumāraṇāyudha asaṅkhyā hibēk in nabhastala tatan kēna linaga panuknya kadbhuta
6. nihan wulat i śirṇa niṇ bala kabeh sakari-kari nikaṇ matiṇ raṇa ndatan hana wētēh śarira nika bēntar i śirah ana bēntar in wijan rujit kanin ikaṇ waneh trus i jajanya kasihan atukup-tukup taṇan ndya tēki daya pādapaṅkaja bhāṭāra ri kasih-arēp i ṇhulun kabeh

1. (c) karinēt C; (d) kawēnañēn A; adhama śawara nāma A, adhama waraṇ anāma C.
3. (c) prasanta BD, prakāśa G; (d) kumaniñētakēn AD; salin priya C.
4. (a) nahan kara nika-n parēn tēka rumampaka saha bala kapwa sāyudha C;
(c) pakēnanya A; hinatērakēn in C, tinahēran ikañ D, tinahēnan ikañ G;
(d) tēka mrañ aniwuñ parēn saha balā humalañ-alani sañhulun kabeh C.
6. (a) nihan mara hatur nikañ bala A; (c) ikā BC; jaja: instead of tañan) C;
(d) Yamāpati humapala Lubdhakātmaka C (instead of bhāṭara ...).

Canto 30.

1. Let us pass over what happened to him who had earned himself
marvellous boons at the feet of the Lord Śaṅkara,
And let us return to the army of Yama, after they had arrived at
Yama's dwelling.
They paid homage before Lord Dharma, and then wiped away the
sweat which was dripping from their chests,
And together they told how they had not succeeded in getting hold
of the arch-villain called Lubdhaka :
2. "See what we have to offer you — we are all ashamed in no small
measure,
That we were not able to carry out your order which descended
to us to seize the soul of Lubdhaka.
When we had taken and bound him very firmly, without his
offering any resistance,
We were about to bring him back with us — clearly with no other
intention but to lay him at your feet.
3. "But suddenly there came all the hosts of Gaṇas, and wrested him
away from us.
According to what they said at least, they had been instructed by
Paśupati to look for him.
First they announced that he was ordering us to free him,
But we all refused to do as they said, as we treasured in our hearts
all Your Majesty had said.
4. "Then all together they fell on us, all armed with excellent
weapons;
After they had found Lubdhaka he went to Śiwa's heaven, with
the *vimāna* as his carriage.
We did our best to pursue him, because we wanted at all costs to
get hold of him when he was carried off by the hosts of Gaṇas,
But they attacked and beat us, so that we were none of us able
to get hold of him.
5. "We were afraid when we saw what they did, all their regiments
raging fearfully;
There were some with three heads, others with five; still others
had three eyes at that time.
There were some with four arms, with ten or a hundred hands,
each of them bearing a weapon;
Innumerable, they filled the whole sky and there was no resisting
their fantastic onslaught.
6. "See how broken all the troops are, the few that have escaped
death on the battlefield;
There is none whose body is whole — some have their head split
open, others their chest;
Still others are sore wounded, their chest run through, pitifully
trying to cover it with their hands;
What can Your Exalted Majesty now do for us in our miserable
state?"

7. nahan mara hatur nikañ bala kabeh Yamapati sira kepwan in naya maśabda humēñēb-hēñēb panas ikañ hati mijil i wulat nirārēñu aḍāpa ta nimitta niñ Śiwabalāñalañ-alañi śarīra ni ñhulun lēwēs mara kaduṣṭan in Gaṇakulāñhala-hala ri kitāgawe lara
8. apan tuduh ira hyaṇ Īśa pakēñañkw aninētakēna solah in dadi ikañ gati halāhajōñ wihikana ñwañ arika pawēkas nirē ñhulun ikañ wwañ ahajōñ hulahnya tuwi dharmika ya ta musirēñ Śiwālaya tuhun yan ahalātiduṣṭa ḍatēñēñ kami pakēna nikēsya niñ kawah
9. lalu pwa ri luhik nirāñuwahi kārya ri kami humalap si Lubdhaka ndya tēki gawayanta yan sinapihan bubuhan i widhi sañ hyaṇ Īśwara ikañ sakala baddhaka ndya pakēnanya kēkē-kēkēsanta niṣphala ñhulun masalaha-ñ gawe wihikan in hala hayu satuduh Gaṇādhipa
10. tuhun rasana denta sugya kami lolya riñ ulah in anāma Lubdhaka pilih marika sampun anlēkasakēñ brata makaphala tan kapātaka sirañ prawara Citragupta kami tēky ataña mapa yaśanya riñ dani gēmēt-gēmētēñ in galihta wacanēñ galarana kalalen juga ñhulun
11. wuwus nira ri Citragupta tumuluy mañulati ri galihnya sakṣaṇa sinarwi magalar-galar tinuduhan jariji lagi winañsu-wañsulan tathāpi taya puṇyamātra kahuniñ galih awarah i jōñ Yamādhipa ya marma nira yan marā ri kahanan Giriśa masalahē gawe nira

Canto 31. ~ - - / - - - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ - / - ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

1. ri aṅkat sañ hyaṇ Dharmapati saka riñ rājya lumaris lawan sakweh niñ bhṛtya matuha-tuhā kapwa mañiriñ jumugjug tan simpañ lari nira marēñ Śambhubhawana parēñ lampah ikāñēñ gagaṇa lari niñ bhṛtya sumuyug
7. (b) humēñēb-hinēb AD; -hinēm BC; tan śabda humēñēñ hinēb G; (c) adhāma B, hāhāpa C; Yamabalāñhinalahalapi tan wruha ñhulun C; (d) hala (instead of lara) C.
8. (b) irika C; (c) ta ya B.
9. (c) bādha B, wādaka C, bandana G; (d) hulun BD; masalahēñ gawe wihikanēñ ... patuduh C.
10. (a) lalya BD; (b) kapātakan CG; (c) yaśanta B; (d) -gēmētān D, -gēmēt ikañ G.
11. (d) macalahē A, masalahēñ B, macalahēñ C.

Canto 31.

1. (c) jumūjug BD.

Notes to 30,7c; 10a; 10d-11b; 11c. See p.151.

7. This then was what the whole army said, and Yama was embarrassed as to the right course of action;
He said, while attempting to curb his inner fury, which showed in his surly glance:
"Fie, why is it that Śiwa's troops interfere with a body which is mine?
Great is the wickedness of the Gaṇas to bring you harm and cause you pain.
8. "For it was the instruction of the god Īśa that it would be my function to consider all the deeds of the living;
The good and bad conduct of the created I was to know, such was his commission to me.
Those of good conduct, who obey the moral law, they would go to the dwelling of Śiwa,
But if they were evil and very wicked they would come to me in order to serve as filling for hell.
9. "Now as for his perfidious altering of our work by taking Lubdhaka,
What will now be our work, if we are dismissed from the duties which were laid upon us by Īśwara?
All these captives, what is the point of our continuing to keep them here for nothing?
I shall resign my work of observing the distinction between good and evil in accordance with the direction of Gaṇādhipa.
10. "But you too think about it, for perhaps we have forgotten something in the conduct of the one called Lubdhaka;
Perhaps he has indeed carried out a vow which results in his not being punished.
The worthy Citragupta, him we ask what his merit in the past has been —
Look into it carefully in your *galih*, read it and check whether I have perhaps been negligent."
11. Thus he spoke to Citragupta, who then began looking in his *galih* straight away,
While he checked right through it, pointing with his finger and turning it back and forth.
But there was not the slightest trace of merit mentioned in the *galih*, thus he respectfully informed king Yama,
And that was why the latter betook himself to the dwelling of Giriśa to resign his function.

Canto 31.

1. After the departure of the god Dharmapati from his kingdom he sped onward,
With all his senior servants accompanying him.
Without erring from his course he went straight to the dwelling of Śambhu,
And his servants travelled with him through the sky, rushing onward.

2. We need not tell about his journey ; he made quick progress and did not delay ;
He then came to the dwelling of Rudra, a splendid, high mountain
Called Kailāsa, very wonderful and of incomparable beauty ;
Heaven was clearly no match for its design, which aroused passionate feelings.
3. On the peak of Kailāsa lay the dwelling of the god Paśupati ;
There were priceless jewels of which all the buildings were made,
Filled with brahmans and sages as well as troops of celestials ;
All were paying their homage before the god Trinayana, praising him with Vedas.
4. The Lord and his spouse were seated on the golden throne,
With the heavenly women, who sat behind the daughter of Śailendra ;
Their beauty was like that of the goddess Ratih who had taken the form of the heavenly women,
Out of joy at seeing the splendours of Rudra's abode.

Canto 32.

1. The immortal women who were all paying their respects before them were each of them beautiful in their own right ;
There were some who all at once set about repairing their coiffure and were combing it with their sharp nails ;
The charm of their glance when they looked seemed to be like tears, because of the smarting of the kohl ;
Their countenances looked like the moon covered by a cloud because of their dusting of powder.
2. There was one beautiful woman, whose form was as in a painting, and who seemed to be weighed down by people's gaze ;
Her hair was disturbed and fell charmingly over her face, as she tried to fold her *kain* which had come loose.
The slim line of her waist seemed about to snap under the heavy burden of her breasts,
And she was very languid as she walked, with a coquettish gait, as if she were not able to take one step ahead.
3. Indeed if her beauty should have to be described, it was like a sea of honey which rippled with her glances ;
The line of her eyebrows was beautiful and sharp as a reef, being untouched by powder,
And its waves were the disordered tresses tumbling over her cheeks and carelessly reaching as far as her shoulders ;
It was only natural that such beauty should wreck the passion of one who sought her charms in the bed-chamber.

4. hanan kadi kadañ-kadañ ni kětēr in patēr i tēka ni tañgal in kapat awas masēmi harṣa niñ wwañ umulat mulata ri panēpinya-n añliga lulut sih apuput riris riñ amēḍar-mēḍara ri kararanya riñ tilam aluñ turida kiñkiñ in wwañ amalar-malar awilēta riñ pasañgaman
5. dudu-ñ huwus abhūṣaṇāhyas ahalēp prasama marēk i sañ hyañ Īśwara alingih ajar-jajar paja-pajānwam aśēmu pasamūhan in sēkar manis ni pamatanya-n ojar akalib tuna-tuna sahañāñhēmū guyu ajōñ nika pilih-pilih piturun in hyañ i kalēñēñan in labuh kapat
6. sanista ni hayunya mañkana yayan taya maḍana hajōñ Maheśwarī raras-raras i rūm nira-n winulatan rasa-rasa kadi mukṣahēñ sēkar sinewakan i rāmya niñ pasisi parwata sagati nirāmañun lulut pupug twas in amarṇa-marṇaha manis-manis ira tuhu dewa niñ ratih
7. tañeh yan ucapēñ halēp-halēp i tiñkah ira pinarēk in warāpsarī samantara ḍatēñ Yamādhīpa lawan bala nira tumamērikañ sabhā rika-n sumuyug ādara prañata bhakti musapi caraṇa hyañ Īśwara saha stuti nirātidiḅya paramasphuṭa rinēñē nirañ Jagatpati

Canto 33. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ - ~ / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - ~ - / ~ ~

1. om sēmbah niñ anāśrayē caraṇapañkaja bhuwanapatiki tiñhali wāhyāwāhya panēmbah i ñwañ i kitēka satata kinabhaktyan i ñhulun byaktābyakta kitēñ sarāt kita hurip niñ ahurip agawe halāhayu sañ mañgēñ pinakeṣṭi niñ mahalilañ manah anilarakēñ daśendriya

4. (b) mulati ri B; -nya yan ligā B; (c) apupul A; kalaranya B; -mēḍari C; (d) awilētan in A, awilēta ri D.
5. (b) - 6 (a) is lacking in B.
5. (b) jītapasinwam AC, pajajaranwam (changed into text) D.
6. (b) nikañ (instead of nira-n) B.
7. (d) atidiwya AD.

Canto 33.

1. (d) mahalilā ADG.

4. There was one like a sister of the gentle rumble of the thunder at the coming of the fourth month —
 Doubtless the joy of the onlooker would bud forth when he should see her waist as it was exposed,
 And the love of him who might try to lay bare her virginity on the couch would turn to a gentle rain;
 The longing of him who strove to entwine himself with her in union would bear tendrils of passion.
5. Others were splendidly clothed and adorned, all paying their homage before the god Īśwara;
 They sat in rows, and in their youthful charm they looked like a mass of flowers.
 Sweet were their glances as they spoke, hesitantly and slowly and deliberately withholding a giggle;
 They were so beautiful that they looked like an incarnation of the goddess of the beauty of the fourth month.
6. But no matter how beautiful they thus were, they could even so not equal the beauty of Maheśwari;
 Her charms seemed as if they would dissolve into a flower when one looked at them.
 Honoured by all the beauties of shore and mountain her whole bearing aroused delight,
 And he who might try to describe her sweetness was at his wits' end, for she was in truth the deity of love.
7. It would take too long if all the charms of her bearing were described, while she was granting audience to the heavenly nymphs;
 Meanwhile king Yama had arrived with his troops and had entered the audience court.
 Then he hurried in, bowing respectfully, and devotedly wiped the feet of Īśwara.
 And his praises were very brilliant and most distinct for Jagatpati to hear.

Canto 33.

1. "Hail! Behold the homage of him who has no refuge, here at the lotus-feet of the Lord of the World;
 Outwardly and inwardly I pay homage to you, who are the constant object of my devotion.
 Visible and invisible are you in the whole world, you are the life of the living, and bring about both good and evil;
 You are the permanent object of desire of those who purify the spirit by abandoning the ten senses.

2. riñ dīkṣādi niwṛty atīta pinakāntanika kita wiśeṣa tan kalen
 yan riñ weda kitāwak iñ praṇawamantra taya lēwiha len sakē kita
 mūrtyāmūrṭi kitātisūkṣma saka riñ tanu kita maganal sakēñ agōñ
 muñgwiñ sthāwara jaṅgamādi kita kewala paran iñ añuñsi śūnyata

Canto 34. ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / - ~ ~ / ~ ~ =

1. nahan rasa ni de nirāñujarakēñ stawa ri suku bhaṭāra Śaṅkara
 rikā-n sinahuran tēkap Trinagarāntaka riñ ujar arūm manohara
 bapañku wihikan ñhulun ry abhimatanta ḍatēñ i kami kagrahē hati
 kṣamākēna gatiñku denta bapa haywa salah añēñ-añēñ harānaku
2. ñhulun laki mapinta-pinta ri wēkañku gati sasiki kahyun i ñhulun
 ikañ makañaran si Lubdhaka hayo pinarikēdē tēkapta hambilēñ
 apan paramadharmikātisāya punya sukrta mamañun bratādhika
 yatēka karañanku mamrih umalap riya mañutus ikañ watēk Gaṇa
3. rēñōñ wacana ni ñhulun karañ niñ śabara dadi musir Śiwālaya
 riñ ādiyuga nūni ta ñwañ añajar brata Śiwarajani prakāśita
 turuñ ta ya hanāñlēkas-lēkasakēñ satēwēk ika kinārya ni ñhulun
 lawasnya malupa ñhulun yan añajar brata gati niki tan hanāñnulah
4. tuhun kalēwih iñ bratēnajakarēñ mami niyata maweh phalādhika
 tuwin milagakēñ saduṣkṛta tēhēr masuñ atisāya bhoga bhāgya len
 awās tan añusir Yamāñḍa phala niñ jana gumawayakēñ tikañ brata
 sapāpa nika śirṇa de ni phala niñ brata winuwusakēñku tan salah
5. ikañ makañaran si Lubdhaka juga-ñ huwus añulahakēñ warabrata
 matañhi rikanañ wēñiñ kapitu kṛṣṇa makatithi caturdaśōttama
 ndatan hyun ika riñ bratādhika nimitta nika tan akējēp sakēñ takut
 tathāpi katēmu-ñ phalēriya tuhun karañ nika tēkēñ Śiwālaya

2. (a) akīta AD, akarti G; pinakantakanikata ACD, pinakanti kitawa G;
 (b) sakēñ BD; (c) mūrtyāmūrṭya B, murta-murta DG.

Canto 34.

From here onward there are a number of gaps in G which have not been indicated.

1. (c) kagrahē kita D; (d) tarānaku D.
3. (c) hanāñlēkas- BD; (d) tan hana-ñ hulah C.
4. (b) milañakēñ A; suduṣkṛta ABD; (c) ikañ brata B, nikañ CD.
5. (a) bratādhika (instead of warabrata) C; (b) -daśāhirēñ C.

Notes to 33, 2a; 2d. See p. 153.

2. "In consecration and other rites you represent the state of complete abstraction, you are the consummation of what has gone before — you par excellence and none other.
In the sacred books you are the embodiment of the holy syllable, and nothing else will ever exceed you;
You are corporeal and incorporeal, subtler than the slendrest body, and coarser than the greatest;
You are present in the stationary and the moving; you alone are the goal of him who takes refuge in the Void."

Canto 34.

1. Such was the essence of the praise which he uttered at the feet of the lord Śaṅkara;
Then he was answered by Trinagarāntaka with words which were kind and winning:
"My dear fellow, I know of your intention in coming to me, and have comprehended it —
Forgive what I have done, and do not misunderstand it, my son.
2. "I ask you expressly, old chap — one thing only is what I wish:
That man named Lubdhaka, do not persist in taking him away,
For he satisfies the highest moral law, and he has the great merit of good deeds, through his having fulfilled an excellent vow.
That is why I did my best to take him by sending out the hosts of Gaṇas.
3. "Listen to what I have to say, why a man of such low birth as this Śabara has succeeded in reaching Śiwa's heaven:
Formerly, in the primeval age, I taught the famous penance of the Night of Śiwa,
But no-one has ever carried it out since the time I did that,
And in the course of time I myself forgot that I had taught the vow — so it goes if there is no-one who practises it.
4. "However, that vow which I had taught was so excellent that it certainly bears most worthy fruit:
Not only does it eliminate all evil deeds, but it gives especial pleasure and good fortune as well.
One will definitely not go to the realm of Yama — that is the reward for a man who carries out that vow.
All his sins are destroyed by the fruit of the vow of which I have spoken, without fail.
5. "Now, the fellow named Lubdhaka alone has carried out this excellent vow;
He stayed awake during the night in the dark half of the seventh month, on the superb fourteenth day.
To be sure, he did not mean to carry out that superior vow — the reason why he did not shut his eyes was his fear;
But even so he reaps the fruit of it, and that indeed is the reason why he has come to Śiwa's heaven.

6. matañnya pituhun wuwusku laki haywa tar ahiḍēp i śabda ni ñhulun arah bapa kitāntukēñ swanagarâpagēha ri sagawenta riñ lagi ikañ mati kabeh ya tā huripanañku sahana nikanan matiñ raña apan ya paḍa yukti pakṣa nika satya matēguh i wēkas nikan tuhan
7. wuwus Trinagarāntakāñutus umantuka Yamapati bhakti sādara panēmbah i patikta riñ kapana yan wihaña sapanitah Jagatpati kṣamākēna gatinku tan gumawaya-ñ wuyun iki tatēḍañku tar waneh apan tuhu salah tēmēn gati patik prabhu lumarani Lubdhakātmaka

Canto 35. - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - -

1. akweh sambodhana hyañ Yamapati mañalap sor i jōñ hyañ Gaṇendra tuṣṭāmbēk hyañ Śiwāñrēñwakēñ i sawacana hyañ Yamāmrañani twas ri ñkā-n mantuk tēlas niñ musapi ri caraña hyañ Trirājyāntakām wit āścaryāmbēk nira-n ton śabara matēmahan tulya lāwan watēk hyañ
2. byātitan lwir nirēñ mārğa gagañacara mēngal ḍatēñ riñ swarājya sakweh sañ māti sampun paḍa-paḍa mahurip de kaśaktin hyañ Īsa tapwan mēñēt dahat citta niki-n aguliñ iñ weśma lāwan kasihnya lolyāmiñkis gaḍag niñ wahu-wahu matutur kagyat anwan salah lwir
3. akweh yapwan liñēñ tiñkah ika paḍa silih guywa-guywan kabehnya mantuk sampun tēkēñ weśma paḍa ya pinapag de ni kāsihnya-n onēñ mājār tiñkah nikan prañ sakanin ika pinintonakēñ riñ jajākrēp añlad twas niñ kasihnyāḍadi pinēkul ikā mār bañun liñnya-n ojar

Canto 36. - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - - / - - -

1. ndatan ujarēñ gatinya-n apupul-pupul manēkakēñ sakāpti niñ akuñ tucapa siran Girīndraduhitātihaṣa rumēñō wuwus Trinayana irika sirātaña krama nikan bratākhyā Śīwarātry aminta pajarēñ tēkap iñ anambuta-ñ brata mapēka tiñkaha lawan prayoga wañunēñ
6. (a) matanya-n C; (b) -āntukē B; -āpagēhana B; sagawayta BD; (c) ya ta CD; huripanañkwa AB; sahanana nikan AD.
7. (b) wihañ i C; sapatitah AD; (c) gumawayā C.

Canto 35.

1. (b) ārēñwakēñ CD; (c) rikan AG.
2. (b) kaśakti B; (d) lāgā- B, lalyā- D.
3. (b) de niñ B, denin C; sihnya-n G; kāsihnya māsih C; (c) mojar A.

Canto 36.

1. (c) bratēkya B.

Note to 35, 3d; see p. 153.

6. "You must therefore obey me, my good man; do not fail to heed what I have said.
Come, you return to your own kingdom and persevere in all the work you did of old.
All the dead I shall revive, all those who fell in battle,
For their aim was right, and they stuck loyally to the instructions of their lord."
7. Thus spoke Trinagarāntaka as he despatched homeward Yamapati, who was devoted and submissive;
"Your servant makes bold to ask, how could he ever refuse anything that Jagatpati has decreed?
Forgive me what I did; that it may not arouse your anger, this is what I ask, and nothing else.
For the conduct of Your Majesty's servant was indeed very wrong that he caused the soul of Lubdhaka suffering."

Canto 35.

1. Many were Yama's words with which he expressed his submission to the God of the Ganas,
And Śiwa was pleased to hear all that Yama said, moving his heart.
Then he set out, after he had wiped the feet of the divine Trinagarāntaka in farewell.
He was perplexed to see how a Śabara had become the equal of the hosts of gods.
2. Let us not describe him as he passed on his way through the sky and came quickly to his kingdom.
Already all the dead had each one come to life again through the power of Śiwa;
They were not yet altogether conscious, and imagined that they were lying in bed at home with their loved ones;
Absently they rolled up the trousers of those who had just come to, but were surprised to see they had the wrong one.
3. It would be too much to relate what they did, but they all laughed a lot together;
They returned and on arriving home their loved ones came to meet them, full of longing.
They told how the war had gone, and displayed all the wounds with which their chests were covered.
This rent their loved ones' hearts so that they embraced them, their words coming to life as they spoke.

Canto 36.

1. We need not relate how they came together and fulfilled all the longings of lovers;
Rather let us speak of the daughter of Girindra, who was very joyful to hear what Trinayana said.
She then enquired about the rules of the vow which is called the Night of Śiwa, and asked to be told,
What one must do if one should want to carry out the vow, and what the rites are which one must perform.

2. pataña nikiñ lanânaḍah asihta kewala miras-hiras kahulunan
t-ajar-ajarēn tēkap niñ umulakhēna-ñ brata kinahyunanku gawayēn
apan iki liñta yadyapi taman kaharṣan ikanan bratāstu katēmu
phala nika de nikañ jana matañhi riñ magha kulēm caturdaśa hirēn
3. rari sipi harṣa ni twas i kakanta masku rumēñö tañanta ri kami
ñwañ awarahē tuhan krama nikañ bratādhika phalanya masku rēñēñ
ñuni-uni lakṣaṇā niñ umulah yatēka pituhun liñ i ñwañ i kita
karaṇa nikañ janāñusira Rudraloka luputēñ kawah sukhasadā

Canto 37. ◡ - ◡ / ◡ ◡ - / ◡ - ◡ / ◡ ◡ - / ◡ ◡ ◡ / ◡ ◡ ◡ / - ◡ - / ◡ ◡

1. riñ eñjiñ i huwus niñ aṅḡelar anusmaraṇa ḍatēna riñ gurugrēha
manēmbaha jugām witāñlēkasakēñ brata sumuhuna pāda sañ guru
ri sampun ika madyusāsisaṅga maṅḡelarakēna Śīwānalārcaṇa
tēhēr duluranōpawāsa saha mona manigasana śuddhakañśuga
2. ri sampun i tēlas nikañ rahina riñ wēñi niyata matañhya tan mṛma
bhaṭāra Śīwalinga kewala sirārcaṇan i dalēm ikañ surālaya
Kumāra ñuniweh Gajendrawadana-ñ ruhunana sira kapwa pūjanēñ
rikañ rajani yāma pat ḡelarana krama nira manuta-ñ sakabwatan
3. mēnur kañiri gambir arja kucubun saha waduri putih lawan putat
aśoka saha nāgapuṣpa hana taṅguli bakula kalak macampaka
saroja biru bañ putih sahana niñ kusuma halapēñ in samañkana
makādi sēmi niñ majārja sulasih panēkara niñ añarcaṇē sira
4. lawan sahana niñ sugandha pakadhūpa saha ghṛta sudīpa riñ kulēm
ikañ caru bubur pēhan saha bubur gula liwēt acarub hatak wilis
yatēka pinakādi niñ caru yadin dulurana phala pāṇa matsyaka
samañkana kēta-ñ kramōlahakēñēñ sawēñi saka sayāma tan lupa

3. (a) niñ twas C; (c) riñ instead of niñ C; (d) puputēñ ABD.

Canto 37.

1. (d) -kañsugā BC.
2. (b) -ārcaṇa ri A, hinārcaṇa ri C; (d) From here onward there are a number of gaps in D which have not been indicated.
3. (a) kutat C, pucat G; (d) tulaśih B.
4. (a) makadhūpa BC.

Notes to 36,2b; 2c-d; 37,1a; 2d; 3b; 3d; 4a; 4c. See pp.153,4.

2. "I who constantly live on your favour ask this simply to make my submission complete;
Tell me in full what one has to do in order to fulfil the vow, for it is my wish to do so.
For this is what you said: 'Even if the vow is not intended, verily its fruit
Will be reaped by him who watches in the month of Māgha, on the fourteenth night of the dark half of the month.' "
3. "Little sister, how delighted I am, my treasure, to hear your question to me;
I shall tell you, my dear, the rules of the excellent vow — listen well to what its fruit is, my treasure,
And above all what the marks are of one who executes it, so you should pay good attention to what I say;
Through it a man may reach Rudra's heaven and escape hell, to his eternal blessing.

Canto 37.

1. "In the morning, after applying the mind to concentration on the deity, you must come to the house of your teacher;
You should then make an obeisance and ask his leave to carry out the vow, placing the foot of the teacher on your head.
After that you must bathe, blacken your teeth and then perform the worship of Śiwa's fire;
This must be accompanied by fasting and silence, and you must put on a new, clean jacket.
2. "After the day is done you must stay up without fail during the night and not go to sleep;
The holy lingga of the lord Śiwa alone must be worshipped in the world of the gods,
Kumāra and Gajendrawadana must be honoured first.
During the night the four watches must be observed in proper order, giving the ritual its full weight.
3. "Jasmin, oleander, *gambir arja*, *kecubun* with white *waduri* and *putat*, *Aśoka* and *nāgaṇuṣṣa*, moreover *taṅguli*, *bakula* and *kalak* with *campaka*;
Blue, red and white lotuses, in fact all the flowers that there are you must then take —
First and foremost the tender shoots of the *maja* and *sulasih* should be the floral offerings of one who worships Him.
4. "And all sorts of fragrant things must be used as incense, with ghee and holy lamps in the night,
And as offerings milk porridge and molasses porridge, mixed with green peas.
All this must serve as the primary offering, though you must also accompany it with fruits, drinks and meats.
These, then, are the rules which you must observe for the whole night, watch by watch, without omitting anything.

5. mṛdaṅga sahanōnyan-unyan asameni kapanalimurârip in mata yadin mañucapa-n kiduñ rumasana-n kakawin apasañ arja len nita sabhāgya kēta yan wruhāñucapakēñ śābarakathana riñ samañkana awas katēmu tañ padādhika tēkap nikañ akathana Lubdhakātmaka
6. ri mokṣa nikanañ kulēm ri tēka niñ rahina masuña dāna riñ sabhā suwarṇa-śīwalinga dāna ri mahādwija paramasuśīla wedawit asiñ lwira nikañ ḍatēñ suñana dāna sakawaśa hayo jugātulak tēhēr kaluputēñ turū ri rahinanya sagawaya hayo kurañ tutur
7. huwus pwa katēkan prasiddha mañulah brata winuwusakēñ tēkap mami kasor saphala niñ mayajña-tapa-dāna ñuni-uni-n atīrtha de nika ri pūrwa ni dadinya yadyapi sahasra niyuta ya mamuktya pātaka tathāpi ya hilañ tēkap niñ umulah brata saphala śīwādiśarwarī
8. yadin sagati-gatya niñ wwañ amañun hala lumarani buddhi niñ para dwijaghna tuwi mon kṛtaghna gurutalpaka mati raray uṅgu riñ wētēñ sapāpa niki nāśa de niki-n atañhi manuju Śīwarātri kottama sawet ni paramaprabhāwa nikanañ brata kaliñan i śabda ni ñhulun
9. yadin tan añulah bratāñiñ atutur tan aturu juga kāla mañkana sakalwiran i jāti niñ wwañ atuhānwama bini jalu kanyakā kunēñ nyamēka musi riñ Śīwālaya mamukti sukha tan abalik prih in hati sakahyun ika wastu siddhi katēkan katēmu phala nikāmañun hayu
10. nahan wacana sañ hyañ Īśwara kapūhan iki sahana sañ hyañ añrēñö Girīndratanayāsahur praṇata mintuhu ri sapawarah Jagatpati byatīta ri tēlas nirāwara-warah maluwaran i ḍatēñ nikañ wēñi samañka tēwēk in watēk hyañ amañun brata katēka-tēkēñ jagattraya

8. (b) ñuni (instead of tuwi) B; gurutalpa mamati AB; uṅwa ri C.

9. (d) siddha A.

10. (b) mintuhu sawara-warah C.

Notes to 37, 5b; 6b; 8a-10b. See p. 154.

5. "Drums and all kinds of other musical instruments played together should be used as a means for keeping sleep from the eyes — Even reciting a *kiduñ* or absorbing yourself in a *kakawin*, performing *arja* or gambling,
But it is most beneficial if you can then tell the tale of the *śabara*,
For it is plain that he who relates the story of the soul of Lubdhaka will reach the highest heaven.
6. "When night disperses and day comes give presents at the court ;
A golden *lingga* of Śiwa should be your gift to the great brahmins, who are supremely virtuous and expert in the Vedas.
No matter who should happen by, you must give him presents according to your ability — do not refuse them !
Furthermore safeguard yourself from sleep during the day as well, and do not be thoughtless in anything that you do.
7. "After you have successfully carried out the vow as I have described,
All the fruits of sacrificing, doing asceticism or charitable deeds, as well as bathing in holy pools, will be inferior to this.
Even though one may have enjoyed a thousand million sinful deeds in one's previous existence,
These will nonetheless be wiped away through the performance of the worthy vow of the eminent Night of Śiwa.
8. "No matter how a man has wrought evil and grieved his fellow-man —
Whether he has been a murderer of brahmins, or has returned evil for good, if he has violated his teacher's bed, or has killed a child in the womb —
All his sins are undone if he keeps a vigil when it happens to be the excellent Night of Śiwa,
Because of the supreme power of this vow — such is the meaning of what I said.
9. "Even if he does not carry out the vow, but remains conscious and simply does not fall asleep at that time,
No matter what sort of person he may be, old or young, woman, man or girl,
He will surely reach the heaven of Śiwa and taste happiness, and never have troubles again ;
Whatever he desires will surely be fulfilled and he will reap the fruits of the good he has done."
10. Such were the words of the god Īśwara, and all the gods were perplexed when they heard them.
The daughter of Girindra responded, bowing low and giving ear to all the instruction of Jagatpati.
We pass over how they parted at the approach of night, after he had given his directions ;
This was the time when the hosts of gods went to carry out the vow, even unto the ends of the universe.

Canto 38. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~

1. nāhan hiñan ikin kathākhyā Śīwarātrikalpa subhaga
 ikā-n makweh katunan kalañwan amurañ-murañ gurulaghu
 antuk niñ kawi tan tamēñ kalēñēñan macihna Tanakuñ
 bhrāntāmet panamunya riñrañ i manahnya lot kasih-arēp
2. hetunyāmrih amēh manah kēdē mawētwa bhāṣa kakawin
 tan sañkēñ wruh apet raras rumacana-ñ wuwus kumawaśa
 byaktāsambhawa yan kasanmataha de nirañ parajana
 mukta-ñ kleśa siluñluñanya mulihēñ nirāśraya juga

Canto 39. - - - / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ - / ~ ~ ~

1. kady agriñ ri lawasku kary apisah in kalēñēñan atēmah wurañḍunēñ
 yan ketuñ raras in mañö mahas-ahas yatika-ñ awētu riñrañ in hiḍēp
 nora-ñ pañlipura-ñ prapañca pētēñ in hati susah amarantyakēñ lara
 yan tan muñsira rāmya pañhilaña sunkawa ri gati niñ anrēgēp lañö

Canto 38.

1. (b) tan makweh AD, tañpan kweh G; (d) -âpet B.
2. (b) rumacañā C; (d) muktā DG.

Canto 39.

1. (a) rakwa pisah C; haraṇḍañēñ D; (c) nora A; pañlipura AB, mañli-
 pura-ñ G; (d) gati nikāñurēñ lañö C.

Note to 38, 1d; see p. 154.

Canto 38.

1. Such is the close of this tale called The Observance of the Night
of ſiwa, the blessed,
Though in poesy it falls far short, and offends against metrical
rules.
It is the work of a poet not accomplished in poetic arts, who bears
the name of Tanakuñ.
In confusion he seeks a means of stilling his perplexity of spirit,
and is unendingly miserable.
2. The reason why he attempts to concentrate his mind, in order to
force out poetry in the form of the *kakawin*,
Is not that he is such an expert in evoking emotions, as he struggles
to arrange his words.
It is quite obvious that he will not find favour in the eyes of other
people,
But released from earthly impurities, may this poem still be a means
for him to return to the Absolute.

Canto 39.

1. It is as if I am sick, having been left so long, cut off from the
beauties of nature, and I have become completely dismal.
If I only think how wonderful it is to wander about composing,
it makes me quite distressed of spirit;
There would be no comfort for my confusion, and the darkness
of my mind is so deep as to lead to torment,
If I did not take my refuge in beauty as a means of soothing cares,
in the manner of one who occupies himself with poetry.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

1, 1 For a commentary and a number of details concerning Canto 1 see the Introduction, Section 9. For other remarks of a lexicographical or morphological nature the reader is also referred to the Glossary.

2, 1 Throughout this text Tanakuñ uses Lubdhaka as a proper name for the hunter; *niṣāda* is employed as a generic name (preceded if necessary by the definite article *-ñ* or *-añ*). This usage is inconsistent with the Sanskrit meaning of the words: *lubdhaka* there means 'a hunter', whereas *niṣāda* is primarily the name "of a wild, non-Āryan tribe in India (described as hunters, fishermen, robbers)" and can also indicate generally "a man of any degraded tribe, an out-caste". In order to avoid clumsy paraphrasing we have translated *niṣāda* with 'hunter' throughout the text, even though in English this word does not convey the contemptuous element which is implied in *niṣāda*. In a few other passages of our text (34, 3a; 35, 1d; 37, 5c) the hunter Lubdhaka is also referred to as a *śabara*, another Sanskrit name "of a wild mountaineer tribe in the Deccan (in later language applied to any savage or barbarian)".

2, 4—3, 9 For a running commentary on this poetic depiction of the Japanese landscape the reader is referred to the Introduction, Section 10.

2, 4c This line is not altogether clear syntactically; *suku niñ gunuñ-gunuñ* for *ri suku*... is quite common in OJ; the main difficulty is the analysis of *anekātanduran*; as we took it, it literally means "varied in having crops", it should be connected with *thany*. One could also read *anekā tanduran*: 'varied were the crops', with an unexplained long *ā* but a more normal syntactical pattern. It appears that in this text, as well as in others, one often finds a long vowel where one would expect vowel + article: *-ā* instead of *-a-ñ*. This may be a matter of spelling, and we may be entitled to read *-a-ñ* in such cases; *aneka-ñ tanduran* would be perfectly normal OJ. The reading *anēkātanduran* (instead of *hanēkā*): 'there were those having ...' or *anēkā*: 'there were the ...' are not very plausible.

3, 2d *winiwarja* is doubtful, even though the mss. are unanimous. According to Z this is the only place where it occurs. T (3, 562) gives the obvious emendation *winiwarjita ya linawad* which would then mean: '...at being separated from their being visited by...'; *wiwarjita* occurs, for example, in AbW and T.

3, 4c Cf. the remarkably similar beginning of AW 3, 6b: *tistis tan hana wuryan in*...

3, 4d *Inupēt* contains a pun which cannot be transposed directly into English; *upēt* means both 'to buzz' and 'to scold' (cf. Dutch *brommen*, 'to buzz', and *brommen op*, 'to scold').

4, 4c Or: '...as he had not eaten *when* he first set out from home'?

4, 5d—6a *Tirtha*, both in Skt. and in OJ, has a very wide range of meanings, from '(sacred) bathing-place, river, pond' via 'holy water' to 'water'. *Ātirtha*

can mean 'to visit a holy bathing-place', 'to make a pilgrimage', but also simply 'to bathe'. Here this ambiguity must have been very welcome to the poet, as the simple lake which Lubdhaka presumes to make use of turns out to be a most holy place of (unconscious) pilgrimage for him.

5, 1 *Cucur* and *taḍah-asih* are names of birds which often occur together in OJ poetry, weeping or crying especially at the disappearing moon. According to T (2, 643) *taḍah-asih* is the female, *cucur* the male. They seem to be some kind of cuckoo, as another characteristic of the *taḍah-asih* is that it does not have a nest of its own, nor does it rear its own young.

5, 2a *Hilañ in* instead of *i hilañ in*, cf. 2, 4c.

5, 2b In descriptions of nature the bamboo is often depicted as a woman and the protective casing around its stem as her skirt, which in her grief or excitement she forgets to keep carefully wrapped around her — see 6, 2b.

5, 3b The bael (bel) tree is the *maja* or *wikwa* (Skt. *bilva*). In 5, 5 both terms occur. In Java the *maja* is especially well-known because it lent its name to the famous kingdom of Majapahit (Wilwatikta), the 'Bitter Bael'.

5, 3d In prose one would expect *panahēn denya* instead of *denya panahēn*. The only other possible interpretation of *panahēn* (*pa* + nas. form of *tahēn*) fits this context neither syntactically nor semantically.

5, 4b The third hour is 10.30 p.m. Night and day each consist of eight *tabēh*, one *tabēh* being roughly equivalent to 90 minutes.

5, 4—5 It is rather unusual to have the syntactic unit extend beyond the end of the stanza; in this case, however, the sentence does not seem to come to an end with 4d: the only possible syntactic complement to *saka ri wēdinya* is *dadi wēkasan*. However, one might just as well consider 4c-d as an anacoluthon, and regard 5a as a new sentence.

5, 6a—b These lines present us with a logical difficulty — they seem to imply that no animals appeared because the great power of his penance, which he was unconsciously carrying out, was counteracted by the still greater power of his evil nature. Firstly this does not seem to be borne out by the rest of the story, as it shows implicitly as well as explicitly that any evil deed committed by a human being is more than counteracted by the *brata* of the Śiwarātri; secondly it seems to suggest that this *brata*, if it had not been counteracted, would have resulted in the appearance of animals. In the latter case we must assume that these are the animals for which he had been hoping in 5, 3, not the ones of which he had become afraid later on in 5, 4, and the implication would then be that the performance of a vow would help a hunter to achieve his essentially evil goal of killing animals. Is this in accordance with Indian philosophy?

Another reading of the text does not help us out either: if we read *bratā panalimur* . . . , and take *panalimur* to be in apposition to *brata* we could translate it as follows: '...because of the great power of his penance, which counteracted his evil nature'. The implication then would be that the animals of which he had been afraid (4d) would in any case not have turned up on account of the protection which he received through his *brata*, even though it was performed unconsciously. Even if this is more plausible logically, it is not correct from the point of view of metrics (*bratā*). Or is this another case of $\bar{a} = a-\bar{n}$ (cf. 2, 4c)?

The meaning of *salimur*, *panalimur* is not doubtful, see 5, 5, 37, 5 and, for example, also AW 1, 5 *wyarthēkañ japamantra yan kasalimur de niñ rajah mwañ tamah*.

6, 2 In these stanzas, as very often in *kakawin*, certain elements of and events in nature are represented as arousing erotic feelings because of their associations: the image of the bamboo loosening her *kain* at the caress of the vines is a metaphorical allusion to the girl and her lover; the bees too are commonly represented as the lovers of the flowers which they visit. *Santĕn rara malayu* presents us with a problem; most probably *santĕn* here means 'pollen', as a variant of *sari*, and *rara malayu* is the name of a flower which is not mentioned in the dictionaries, but which according to Z occurs in Malat 14, 1a: *awor rumipun lan sĕkar in gambir tinrañ in sĕkar rara malayu*. The words may be ambiguous and contain some other allusions: *santĕn* may perhaps also mean *susu*, breast, as it frequently does in *kakawin*, and *rara malayu* may also mean: Malay maidens or fleeing maidens. It is not clear either whether (b) and (d) refer to the same thing, or whether the two references to bamboos are loosely connected here: according to Z *wuluh* and *prĭn* are often used as synonyms, but in some places a distinction seems to be made. It seems improbable that there is no connection between the eight lines of 2 and 3, the more so as the bees also return in 3c, and it would be poor poetry indeed if out of the many similes which nature provided the OJ poet he chose only two and used them twice each, as mere repetition. However, the deeper meaning of these similes, if present at all, has escaped us so far. It is clear nonetheless that in these lines the poet also tried to display some *śabdālamkāra*; these may have influenced his imagery for the worse.

6, 3c *Pañaras* is unusual but not impossible; one would expect *mañaras* (cf. v.l. *hañaras*).

8, 1b The meaning of *twas* is in many cases very close to that of *hati*, denoting the seat of the emotions. Here the meaning seems to be more or less "to have in mind, to be set on". This meaning is rare, but there are a few other places in which we come across it, for example, RL 6, 1 *sampun twas apĕrgi*, cf. also *ati* (Z).

8, 4c *Kasrĕpan* is doubtful. In Mod. Jav. *asrĕp* (*aĕĕm*) means, 'cold', 'cool'; *kasrĕpĕn* means 'to suffer from cold, to be feverish'. In OJ (*a*)*srĕp* means 'cool' (water, wind, etc.); *kasrĕpan* means nearly always 'deeply moved' (by any emotion: sorrow, joy, beauty, etc.). There are no cases in OJ where the meaning 'to suffer from cold, to be feverish' seems to apply (Z).

8, 6a That is, 4.30 a.m.; see 5, 4b.

8, 7b—c There are some difficulties in these lines; the first is *ādan* with an inexplicable *ā*; the reading of ms. B suggests *tĕlas* (*s*)*ādhana*, but this hardly makes better sense, and would moreover present an unusual sandhi: *s + s > s*. The other problem is *ulih*, and in connection with this the meaning of the first part of (c). We took *ulih* to be like Mal. *oleh*, indicating a cause or reason. This is not unusual in OJ; the main objection is that one would expect some underlining of the predicate *sukha* (*ta*, *ya*, *ika*); moreover, in our translation the first part of (c) is then a clumsy repetition of the second half of (b); this, however, is apparently a weakness in the original, as *inĕt in ulahnya* in any case seems to be a repetition of *atutur i garwenya*. One could perhaps also translate *ulih* as 'to return, to come home'; the line would then run: 'on his return he recalled how he used to enjoy himself...'. Syntactically this would be slightly easier; logically, however, the 'returning' at this point is rather strange.

9, 1c The translation of this line depends on the meaning of *palĕh*; this word, though not too rare according to the material provided by Z, is nonetheless not clear; in a number of cases the meaning 'to augment, to increase' seems to fit

well, e.g. SD 1,21 *sumrak rum ni rurunya lagi pinalēh niñ kasturi mwañ jēnu*. This meaning has been adopted in our translation, the agent being 'death'; however, in other places this meaning does not seem to fit too well. It is doubtful whether there is a semantic relationship with *palēh-palēh*, 'negligent'.

9, 4b *Asuñā pinañan* with an irregular *-ā*; this may be another example of an *-ā* standing for *-a + ñ*, so that the text should actually be read: *asuña-ñ pinañan* (cf. note 2, 4c).

9, 4c The variant reading is not untranslatable; it could mean: '...who can take the place of him who has you, my darlings, as his children?' This reading implies that the wife here still or again addresses herself to the children, rather than to her dying husband. The meaning of *rēsun*, 'you', is clear from the material of Z.

9, 5c *Kētē-kētēg* means 'heartbeat', 'pulse', 'panting', 'any movement caused by emotion' (Z). In *Ślokāntara* 82,5 it is used as a translation of Skt. *ceṣṭā*, 'moving any limb, gesture': *ceṣṭā naranya kētē-kētēg in awaknya tinhalana*. Cf. also Sum. 10,31:

sañ hyaṇ jīwa hanē gulū nira lawan kētē-kētēg ira sañśayāsamun.

For this stanza see also Introduction, p. 53.

10, 1b The exact meaning of *hañut* here is difficult to ascertain. In most cases it clearly means: 'to allow the current (or the sea) to carry along': Sum. 162,2:

bhasmi rājarṣi hinañut i tēñah in tasik.

We have taken it here to mean 'to carry along (down the slopes, in the direction of the sea)', but this may be extending the meaning of *hañut* too far; in its frequent figurative use too it means 'to allow to drift along (in water, sea)'. Nonetheless *hañut* may also have been used in the more general sense of 'to perform death rites', if we look at BY 12,4:

(the bodies) *pinahayu ... rinuruban*
hinañut i pajañ in lek muñgwiñ pañcaka ginēsēñ
nda hēñēñakēna putri śrī M. hinañut.

11, 4c *t-ajar-ēn*; see Introduction, p. 30.

11, 4d *katōn* = *kaharēp*, 'what is the desire of'?

14, 5d *pilaran* is an unusual form, presupposing a causative *pi-*: *amilara*, which has not been found elsewhere so far, except in one case, in which *amilarani* is used. On the other hand the variant *linaran* could be a normal passive form of *añlare*, *añlarani*, both of which are found in OJ.

16, 1d *Rakwa* placed between *niñ* and the following noun and as such breaking up what is normally an inseparable syntactic unity, is a most remarkable case of syntactical poetic licence, expressing strong emotion on the part of the speaker.

16, 2 It is not clear whether this cry for help from his family is based on a particular religious belief that in such a desperate situation a man's soul can effectively be helped by the prayers or devotion of his relatives, or whether the poet here is simply expressing a general cry for help by a man for whom human help is no longer available.

17 It seems that in this Canto the poet is at his best. The use of the three-line metre *Udgatawiśama* underlines the highly emotional, lyrical tone of these verses; it seems that the poet has succeeded in evoking the extreme suffering of *Lubdhaka*'s soul, even though here too clichés are not lacking. Moreover the idea of a person

after his death being recognized or asking to be recognized in elements of nature is well-known from other *kakawin*, see AW.

17,3 Lubdhaka here compares his emaciated body to the flower-stalk of the ivory coconut-palm, which is bound, then beaten in order to tap it completely — for the process of tapping this palm see Heyne, p. 400.

19,4 Z points out that in later *kakawin* *ta-k asuñ* simply means: ‘not allow’, without any reference to the first person. AbhW 51, 18:

nāhan tēki sahur nīrānlawě-lawö ry ujar ira tak asuñ nṛpātmaja.

In our text, however, the form still conforms to classical OJ rules. In the following stanza we also have a perfect example of an OJ ‘conjugated form’: *denta-t pasuñ wedanā* (5c).

23,2d *Anuhuk*, ‘completely’, from *tuhuk* = *tuwuk* is very dubious; no better solution is offered by *anuhuk*, ‘stabbing’, from *tuhuk*, ‘kris’, which could then be in apposition to *-nya*, ‘of them while they were stabbing’; the variant *-ānuhul* does not make sense, as we do not know of an OJ word *suhul* or *tuhul*, and *ān uhuk*, ‘as they gave a final cry’ is not very probable either.

23,3c Battle as a sacrifice is a well-known conception from India; the *ka-* form *ka-ṛaṇāṅgayajña* instead of normal *ka-an* is remarkable but not unique, see also *kaduṣṭa-kuhaka*, 5, 6b.

23,4c Apparently the effort to create *śabdālamkāra* (*laṇḍēs*, *taṇḍēs*, *tēṇḍas*) has led the poet to a somewhat forced construction: as the sentence runs it seems to mean that even those who were attacking were themselves used as blocks for cutting off other people’s heads.

24,3c The only possible interpretation of this line as we read it is that it contains a word *kā*, which would be a variant of *ākā* (cf. *rikā-rīnkā*): ‘His exhaustion — then Ū. saw it’. Neither the form *kā* nor the syntactic construction seems very probable. One could also read: *i rakōrdhwakeśa*: ‘the exhaustion of the elder brother, Ū saw it’. We do not know of any family tie between W. and Ū., and the construction remains strange. The reading of C solves most of our problems, but is so typically the *lectio faciliior* that we hesitate to accept it.

26,9d Literally: ‘Aha, what might be your possible ability to face up to ...’ A rhetorical question, as often found with *ndi*, with a good example of a double arealis: *wēnañmu*, *wēnañamwa* (see Zoetmulder, 1950, p. 153).

28,2 Comparison of the battlefield to the sea is well-known from OJ poetry, and it is often elaborate, as in this case: the cymbals are compared to the thunder, and the flashing of the weapons to lightning. The numerous flags form clouds — although it is not very clear how the comparison to smoke fits into this line. The fourth line is strange: the *kētēr niñ patēr* is well-known as ‘the gentle rumble, the vibrating sound of the thunder’; *bahitra*, ‘ship’, would fit very well in the comparison, but the combination of the two is incomprehensible here. Note the use of *a-* for indicating a comparison: *agēntēr* and *awidyut*; cf. Zoetmulder, 1950, p. 35: *masuluñ-suluñ*, ‘as flying ants’.

28,8c This is one of the rare cases in OJ where the particle *-n* occurs between two consonants; these cases are important for the proper phonetic and syntactic explanation of this particle. Another, older, case (also with *ton*) is BY 5, 3a: *amajañ lek-n ton lēñēñ niñ wulan*.

In our text two mss. lack *-n-*; apparently for later copyists this graphic cluster was too much. Neither Kern (V.G. 8, pp. 260-274, see also p. 317) nor Van der

Tuuk (1, p. 511) nor Zoetmulder (1950, 173-176) paid attention to the occurrence of *n* and *an* in different phonetic contexts.

28, 9d This line is not clear: *śirṇa tatu nika*, 'their wounds were destroyed' for: 'they were so badly wounded' seems unusual; *tata nika* (A&G) might be an easier and better reading: 'their battle order was destroyed'; however, the other variant of mss. A&G: *twuwuh* instead of *wutuh*, seems impossible.

29, 5d *lawasana(nta)* is an unusual form: it should be taken either as an arealis of a noun *lawasan*, 'length', which is unknown; or it should be considered to be a passive arealis of *aṅlawasi*, 'to do for a long time'; this too is a form not met with so far in OJ (Z).

30, 3d *kumanēñētakēn* (see also the variant reading) looks strange; Z suggests the reading *kumanēkētakēn*, an *-um-* form with *-akēn* from a secondary base *kanēkēt*; he points to the form *kanēkētakēn* in BhP 60, 5; RY 3, 62; BK 38, 3. On the other hand from *tēñet* there also exists *kinatēñētaken* (BK 88, 55). The form in our text may be some kind of blending; the meaning seems clear.

30, 7c *śarīra ni ṅhulun* would normally mean: 'my body' = '*awakku*', 'me', as it does in 29, 5a where Śiwa uses the same words for his own body, in contradistinction to *awakta*, the hunter's body. Here, however, it is obvious from the context that it means: 'the body of L. which rightfully belongs to us'.

30, 10a *rumasana* is an unusual form; the only possible interpretation is as an arealis of *rumasani* or *rumase*.

30, 10d—11b The function and activities of 'the worthy Citragupta' are depicted very vividly and realistically in these lines. He is the keeper of the records of the good and evil deeds of human beings for Yama, and as such is well-known both from Skt. and OJ literature (see T 1, p. 623, where his name is also given as Citragotra; this is also the name of the author of the Sudamala and Sri Tañjun). On Balinese paintings he is depicted as studying his records (see p. 52). The only puzzling element in this description is the word *galih* which apparently refers to the book, the written records or files of C., as he reads them (*waca*), checks them (*galar*), pointing at them with his finger (*tinuduhan jariji*) and turns them back and forth (*winaṅsu-waṅsulan*). No satisfactory etymological explanation or confirmation from the sources is available to us for the meaning 'book', 'records'. In OJ *galih* only occurs in later texts, meaning 'marrow', 'energy', 'power' — see *lwir tan pagalih*, 'as if having no marrow, powerless' (Z).

30, 11c *kahunin*, *kahuni in*, 'mentioned', from *huni* which has been interpreted as a (spelling?) variant of *uni*; no other examples of this form are known, however.

31, 3b The translation of this line is uncertain, particularly the translation of *waṇunan* with 'of which ... were made'. An alternative translation is 'the shape of all the buildings was like a priceless jewel', which would have the advantage of taking *waṇunan* in its normal meaning of 'building'; but this too would be syntactically unusual. There is a close parallel in the description of iwa's heaven in AW 29, 10, where lines (b) and (c) read:

gr̥ha rāmya pituṅ siki midēr upacāra paḍātiśaya
hana sarwa maṇik waṇunan ika hanādhika puṣṣamaya.

These lines as a whole are not themselves unambiguous; however, it seems to be clear that in (c) *upacāra* are described, some of them 'all made of' (or 'in the shape of') 'pure jewels', others 'made of flowers'. Reading *aneka-ṇ* ('various were the') instead of *haneka* does not help us out.

31, 3d The exact meaning of *weda* at this time is difficult to ascertain, but it seems certain that it was nearer to modern Balinese *weda* than to the Ancient Indian *veda*. On the former, and on *stawa*, see Hooykaas, 1964 and 1966, *passim* (see Index to 1966).

31, 4b This line presents us with a curious philological problem. Our interpretation of the text is a conjecture, based on the reading of A&D. This reading is not in itself untranslatable: it would mean 'the god Gāṇa' or 'the Gāṇa gods'. It is highly improbable that the Gaṇas, the victorious warriors of the preceding cantos, would be allowed into the presence of Śiwa and his spouse. It would be much more probable for Gaṇeśa to be present with his divine parents.

Gaṇa is, in fact, known to be used as a variant of Gaṇeśa both in Skt. and in OJ (Monier-Williams gives Wilson as a reference: see SD 28, 11, also Hooykaas, 1964, p. 210, 212, etc.). And Gaṇeśa is indeed sometimes found and depicted in the presence of his divine parents. One (minor) objection against this interpretation is that this name is Gaṇa, not Gāṇa as the metre requires here. Another (major) objection against the adoption of this reading is that it is not consistent with the meaning of the next line, in which the beauty of someone mentioned in line (b) (*hajōṇnya*) is compared to that of Ratih, the goddess of Love. Sex precludes this comparison from referring to the male god Gaṇeśa, whereas grammar (-*nya* instead of -*nira*) as well as logic preclude the poetical comparison of Śiwa's spouse Umā to Ratih, the wife of Kāma, hierarchically her inferior! Therefore we have permitted ourselves the change of *hyāṅgāṇā* to *haṅgāṇā*, even though both the *h* and the long *a* in the second syllable are suspect (although for the *h* we could compare the *ikaṇ hamarasundari* in 32, 1a). The readings of B, C and G do not have the syllables *gāṇa* and have made up for them in some way or other; as, however, it is not clear how *saṇ hyaṇ* could refer to the heavenly women specifically (as the following lines imply), these readings do not appear to be very plausible either, but rather seem to be later corrections by copyists who did not understand what they read in the original.

31, 4c There can be little doubt as to the meaning of the words *hajōṇnyāpendah hyaṇ Ratih*. Still the form *apendah* as such is doubtful. In general there seems to be some confusion in Balinese mss. of OJ texts between three or four different lexical items: 1. *piṇḍah* (Mal. *pinang*), 'to change, to become something different'; 2. two words *piṇḍa*: (a) *piṇḍa*, 'form, shape, appearance', from which are derived *apiṇḍa*, 'to have the form of, to be like', etc., and *amiṇḍa*, 'to take the form of, to be incarnated as'; and (b) *piṇḍa*, 'sum, total', from which there is a (*m*)*apiṇḍa*, 'to the amount of, totalling', and (*m*)*amiṇḍa*, 'to collect, to bring together, to form (a total of)'; 3. *indah* (Mal. *indah*) from which *endah*, 'to have a beautiful form, to be or become beautiful, wonderful, strange' but also 'just like, the same as'; from this there is also *pendah*, apparently with diverse meanings: in AW 6, 5d -*n pendah* is clearly 'to change form'; *tan pendah* in various places is as clearly 'not different from, just the same', whereas here we have *apendah* 'to be like'. Cf. also Mod. Jav. *pendah*, 'different', but also *lir pendah* and *tan pendah*, both meaning 'just the same as'. It should be remarked that Tanakuṇ also uses *apiṇḍa* with the meaning of 'to look, to seem'. Perhaps one could read also *hajōṇnyā pendah*, as *apendah* seems a strange form in any case.

32, 1—4 Here at last the poet has an opportunity to dwell on feminine beauty, an indispensable element of a good *kakawin*. We do not get the impression that the poet himself is emotionally involved in this passage. Not only are these four stanzas insignificant from a quantitative point of view — when we compare them, for example, with the countless stanzas devoted to the battle scenes — but they

seem to be rather flat qualitatively speaking as well, containing a series of clichés which, moreover, are sometimes not logically connected. They do not give occasion for detailed commentary, although we do not mean to say that the text was always clear to us in every detail.

32, 1c *apiṇḍa masēmu luh* is an example of bad style, 'the charm ... seemed to be like tears'. Is G, with *madhu muluh*, closer to the original reading after all? 'The sweetness of her eyes was like honey' is a perfect cliché; what, however, does *wuluh* mean in that case? Z's material suggests some connection of *wuluh* with 'honey' or 'sweetness', see SD 27, 10 *madhu wuluh*, cf. 39, 7 *sidhu muṅgwin wuluh*: 'rum in a bamboo'. Is *madhu muluh* a variant of this — or an error? In that case, however, the tears would be left out of the picture and the 'smarting of the kohl' would hang in the air, while the meaning of *ṣamriḥ in śipat* appears to be certain, according to Z. Or could *muluh* mean 'to become as *wuluh*' (?), i.e. as a result of 'the smarting of the kohl'?

32, 3 This again is an extended comparison in which the ocean is introduced (see 28, 2); this time the beauty of a heavenly woman is compared to the ocean of honey (*madhusāgara* — note the Javanese order of the Skt. words *jalanidhi madhu*) — its ripples being the lady's glances, its reefs the line of her eyebrows, which in other places is often represented as a dangerous weapon, and its waves her loose tresses. In (d) the comparison is resumed in the expression that such beauty will inevitably 'shipwreck' the passion of anyone approaching such a woman — in OJ *jahat* is apparently used specifically for 'shipwrecked', see T (4, 348) *maṣarahu jahat*; see also HW 23, 7, *banawa kajahat* and SD 5, 10, *baṅyāgālara kajahat*. — For *kaṣaṇtēs* Z gives abundant material; apparently it was originally a noun: 'the natural quality of ...'

33, 2a This translation is not beyond doubt. We assume *nīṣṛti* to mean 'the disappearance of all forms of consciousness in yoga', hence practically the final stage of yoga — we therefore translated it with 'the state of complete abstraction'. It remains open to discussion whether this is not stretching the meaning of *nīṣṛti* too far. In Skt. it means: 'ceasing', 'abstaining', 'ceasing from worldly acts', 'inactivity' (opposed to *pravṛti*). We find it in this latter sense in Agp. 355, 28-29, where the three activities *tapa*, *yajña*, *kīrti* are opposed to yoga as *pravṛti* to *nīṣṛti*. In Tantristic usage we observe a shift in the meaning of these words: *pravṛti* there comes to mean 'right-hand' *yoga*, which "suppresses the operation of the sense organs and in this way tries to liberate the 'self' from all illusion", whereas *nīṣṛti* becomes the 'left-hand' path in which "the senses are deliberately brought into contact with everything that tempts them in order to experience the relativity of this temptation and to rise above it and thus to become master of it" (Pott, 1966, p. 13; see also pp. 24-25). It is therefore uncertain whether *nīṣṛti* can really mean 'the ultimate result of yoga'. Another translation would be (reading *dīkṣādīnīṣṛti* as one Skt. compound) 'In the left-hand path consisting of consecration, etc. you form the absolute end, you par excellence and none other'. In this translation *āṭita* would be unusual, however.

33, 2d *ādi* ('etcetera') after *jaṅgama* is really redundant as the pair *sthāwara-jaṅgama* in itself expresses the totality of all that exists.

35, 3d *adadi* is unusual; perhaps we should read: *kaśihnyā dadi*.

36, 2b For *t-ajar-ajarēn* see Introduction; *umulahkēna* instead of *umulahakēna* is irregular; but to read *umulah kēna-n* as two words would make the line untranslatable.

36, 2c—d A noteworthy and indubitable case of enjambment!

37, 1a *gurugrēha*: 'the house of the teacher' seems obvious. The Balinese seem to have misunderstood this word and read it as *gurugraha* and interpreted it as *Gurughāra*, 'Guru's Spouse' = Pārwatī (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 214 and 224). — For a running commentary on this Canto see Introduction, Section 12.

37, 2d *bhaṭāra Śiwalinga* is difficult to render adequately. It means 'The Lord Śiwa as he becomes manifest in his *linga*'. For the Śiwalinga cult in Java and Bali see Hooykaas (1964, p. 141-190) and the earlier literature mentioned there.

37, 3b *macampaka*, 'with', 'and' *campaka*; this use of *ma-* continuing an enumeration was already known to Kern (V.G. 8, p. 201, footnote 1).

37, 3d It is not certain whether *arja* indicates a specific kind of *maja*, as it does in the more frequent *gambir arja* and *sērēh arja* (see 3a), or whether it is just a stopgap as is apparently the case with *arja* in many places in OJ literature. It may also underline the specific importance of the *maja* leaves in this ceremony, which would otherwise receive remarkably little stress, in view of the preceding story and of what we know about the ceremony from other places. In the Balinese Śiwarātri text the offering of *maja* leaves is also dealt with in some detail before the enumeration of the other sacrificial flowers begins (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 212, l. 33-47). In a *Puja Siwa-Ratri* from Lombok kindly made available to us by Hooykaas, mention is made of *sēmi ni maja arēja* (line 234).

37, 4a *sudīpa* might be taken as an adjective: 'brilliant ghee'; however, the combination *dhūpa dīpa* is so common in OJ as well as in Bal. *mantra* (see Hooykaas, 1966, Index, *passim*) that our translation is much more probable.

37, 4c *matsyaka* is a puzzle — in Skt. it only occurs with the meaning 'a little fish'. It has been taken as a synonym of *matsya* in its Indonesian meaning of 'meat' (cf. Jav. *iwak*).

37, 5b In accordance with Z we have taken *arja* in the Balinese sense of 'a dancing-performance' here, even though there is no other place in OJ literature in which this meaning seems to occur; *apasañ* instead of *amasañ* is unusual.

37, 6b On Veda see footnote to 31, 3d.

37, 8a—10b have been translated by Hooykaas, 1964, p. 198. Apart from minor differences and our correction of *sapacarah* to *sapawarah* in 10b, the one main point on which we deviate from Hooykaas is the translation of *abalik* in 9c; Hooykaas' translation of *tan abalik prih in hati* is not possible syntactically (we would expect *abalik tan prih in hati*), nor is it in accordance with the normal meaning of (a)*balik*: 'to return to a former state', 'again...'; for a close parallel to our text see AW 12, 4:

kadi masalin śarīra sukha tan pabalik prihati.

38, 1d *panamunya rinrañ i manahnya* is not quite clear; *panamun* means 'a means of stilling', and we would expect: *panamun i rinrañ i manahnya*, see also Z. However, there is a very close parallel to this text in Tanakun's other *kakawin*, WS 87:

baryan tapwan sah pinakapanamunya prih in hati.

Here, too, *ya* as a separate word would not fit the syntax, nor would the reading *-panamun i a-* fit in either of the two. There can hardly be any doubt about the meaning.

Following Canto 39 each MS. has a colophon. These colophons are given below, with a tentative translation.

A nke lambaṇ Śīwaratrī paścāt tinulis riṇ Āmlapūra lēñōṇ
de saṇ anama Madhya Jalaja sira kēdwa hayu nuruni
nirguṇa ṇ tan wruh iṇ basa-basita niṇ gurūlagu mwaṇ tata
ntuk niṇ kēdwa nira n wruh iṇ tatwa nikaṇ lambaṇ Lubdhakātmakā

Iti Lubdhaka samapta. Duk puput sinurat rontal iki, dawēg riṇ dinā, wu, ka, bu; ca, byā, ma, kā, dadi, wāra Gumrēg, thithi, badrawādā masa, kṛṣṇāpakṣa riṇ catūrti, yapwan samaṇkanā diwaśanyā pūrṇa linikittha, sparsa pratiti samūtpshade ṇkanā, nakṣatra nikā: rohiṇi martha sampadah. Rah, wiṇḍu; tēngēk, 5; babadnya, i śakā, 1750.

■ Nkanēṇ Bhayabhyadeśa, sēḍēk timira diwaśa. Paryantuṣakna wirupa niṇ akṣa-raṇkw iki, wet niṇ kuraṇ kawotnya, bap kawnaṇ, mwaṇ amalantiṇ, apan olih iṇ wiguṇalpa sastra, wwaṇ antyanta niṣturā, papā, kajantakā, duhkḥā mahāharā, lwir tan riṇ rāt uṅgwanyā panēmu sāṇsarēpūh, syuh śīrṇa nanā, bwat tiniban duhkḥa mahabharā kahiraṇ-hiraṇ, kadēdētan twas, wyakti makakekelik iṇ sa jagat mwaṇ kadadin, maṇkana saṇ anurat, mārmaniṇ milw anulār saṇ hyaṇ haji, maka-paṇlilā sukskā niṇ twas, pala-palar amaṇgiḥ swasta niṇ swacitta matra, makaṇūni saṇ sweccha amacā, mogha amaṇgiḥ dirghayuśā, paṇipūrṇa, wastu. Auṃ gmūṃ Gaṇadīpataye namāḥ, auṃ śrī Gurupaḍukebyo namāḥ, auṃ Sarāswatye namah swahā, auṃ siddhir astu, tat astu, astu, swahā.

Now the poem Śīwarātri has been written in beautiful Amlapura (= Gèlgèl)
By the sage named Madhya Jalaja, who strives after blessedness by means
of copying it.

Worthless is he who knows nothing of the power¹ of the rules of poetics
and composition;

It is only the result of his efforts to discover the essence of the poem of
the Soul of Lubdhaka.

Such is the Lubdhaka completed. The time when these *lontar* palm-leaves had finally been copied fell on the day Wurukuṇ-Kaliwon-Budha; Candra-Abhyantara, (*ma ka dadi*?), thus in the week Gumrēg; the lunar day was: in the month Bhadrawādā on the 14th of the dark fortnight — indeed (this) was the time when it was completely copied, at the auspicious time of Sparśa (*pratīḥsamutpada*, T 3,333); the lunar asterism was Rohiṇi in favourable conjunction (*amṛtasampad*?); units: 0; tens: 5; its *babad* (?) was in the Śaka year 1750 (= A.D. 1828).

There in the north-westerly (?) district, at the time of darkness; excuse the ugliness of these letters of mine, because of lack of attention to them; they are completely inferior, and just hang together — the work of one lacking knowledge of literature, someone exceedingly lowly, miserable, in a woeful state, weighed down by great unhappiness; the way in which he has met trouble and difficulties is beyond belief, crushed and broken, on him very heavy misfortunes have fallen, (he is) put to shame, oppressed in spirit, and certainly abhorred by the whole world and creation — such is the writer, and that is why he also copies the holy lore, as a comfort for the sadness of his heart, in the hope that he may find a little well-being for his own mind, as well as for him who is so well-disposed as to read it — may he find long life, perfect peace, and blessing. Auṃ gmūṃ! Homage to Gaṇādhipati; auṃ! Homage at the feet of the revered Teacher; auṃ! Homage to Saraswatī; hail! auṃ! May it succeed; may that be, *astu*, hail!

¹ *basa-basita* may be a blending of *bhāṣa-bhāṣita* and *waśa-waśita*.

B Itya n tañ Śīwaratri wūs linikita ñ kawyān diśanyālañō.

Such is the Śīwarātri, copied; Kawyan is the district beautiful. (See for the place-name, which also occurs in the colophon of Nāg., Pigeaud, 1960-63, IV p. 346).

C Iti Śīwaratri samapta, tlas (s)inurat riñ Puṇyatirtha, dya sañ aparab Mṛtajñāna, riñ dīna, ca, pwa, Pahañ, pañ, piñ, 9, śaśi, ka, 8, rah, 8 tēṅgēk, 1.

(This is followed on the last *lontar* leaf by a passage which is identical with 37, 2a-4d, beginning with *ri sampuni* ... and ending with *matsyaka*.)

Such is the Śīwarātri completed, copied in Puṇyatirtha, by the sage bearing the name Mṛtajñāna, on the day Candra-Pon, the *wuku* Pahañ, under the waning moon, the 9th, in the 8th month, in the year '18.

D Iti Śīwālusanya

Such is the Śīwa ... (?)

E Identical with that of C, showing that E is therefore a copy of C. The end of C is missing in E.

With regard to MS. B (Cod. Or. 5023) it might be useful to give the following additional information which, though not directly relevant to the study of the ŚR, may be of importance for further study of the texts contained in this manuscript and of the cultural context in which these texts have functioned. For it is this same manuscript which contains the only copy of the Nāg., as well as a number of other OJ texts. (See Pigeaud, 1968, p. 254.)

Now the beginning of the text of ŚR proper is found on page 2b; this beginning is preceded by pp. 1a, 1b and 2a; 1a is blank; 1b starts with *awighnam astur*, followed by the first stanza of the poem ŚR. After that comes a passage describing historical events which apparently took place in Bali in Śaka 1659-1660 (A.D. 1737-1738). Page 2a starts anew with *awighnam astu*, followed by the first three stanzas (Canto 1) of ŚR. After that reference is again made to events of the year 1660. For the sake of completeness these passages are given below.

(1b) Wruh ta luña candra ocahiñ wayahan Buleleñ.

Ktut Aṅgahan kadšē kutha ilaṅ bukit pondoñ riñ Bañle, kadēmak sakēñ Karañasēm, makaśraya dene ñ śatru, panawēr, pañcal, śa, 8. Be, guñ, 438. nan..sarpha (?) i śaka, mārga prapañca (crossed out, and *pustaka* written below) rasa watu (*wa* crossed out, and *ngal* added below) 1659. Nēñah Jalantik riñ Babandēm, muñgah iñ senapati I Pamayasan.

Awkasan Kētut Aṅgahan kadēmak antuk ida Nēñah Gyañar, riñ dinā bu, u, Kulantir. I śaka śūnya rasa bramara purusa 1660, weśakamāsa.

Nēñah Jalantik kariñ Babandēm. Anēñēñ, mara kapagubugan malipwan.

I Pamayasan wulih di Salumbaṅ miwah Nēñah Jalantik mara kaśadajan bwitane, mandēg, malipwan ka Babandēm.

(Kētut Aṅgahan, having moved to Bañle, was attacked from Karañasēm, and

took refuge from the enemy in the year 1659. Nėnah Jalantik of Babandėm went up to general I Pamayasan. Finally Kėtut Aŋgahan was attacked by Nėnah Gyañar, in 1660. Nėnah Jalantik stayed in Babandėm... I Pamayasan went back with him to Salumbaŋ, etc.)

(2a) Mau girindra waŋsaja. Ndanduran. Kyayi alit pađanāji Siđēmėn, tumindak mariŋ sibėtan, piŋđa niŋ asisihan riŋ Nėnah Jalantik, makaśraya ŋ saŋ dwija pinatih, ra, u, Wukir, śa 4, babad, windu rasa ghana tuŋgal, 1660.

(Nėnah Jalantik is referred to again, and the year 1660.)

It is possible that these historical events are referred to in the Babad Bla-Batuh (ed. Berg, 1932); see the summary of contents, pp. XXX-XXXIV. This work deals with the story of the Jalantik family in Bali, and the reader is referred to it for further particulars.

PART TWO

INDIAN SOURCE OF THE KAKAWIN

1. *Various Versions of the Story*

The primary purpose of the present research was to find an account of the Śivarātri story in India similar to that contained in the Old Javanese *kakawin*. Before the discussion can commence, however, two things must be pointed out. In the first place the present research can in no way be described as complete. What is found below is simply what has come to light as the result of brief and incomplete searching in both Sanskrit texts and in secondary works about India. In the second place, the nature of the material collected for comparison must be made clear. The Sanskrit texts are taken from the Purāṇas, works of diverse and sometimes vast content whose origins and distribution throughout India are still obscure. In the case of both the Sanskrit texts and the secondary sources the stories are presented sometimes in great detail, sometimes only the briefest summary is given, and in the case of the secondary sources there is perhaps the added hazard of wrong or partially understood information having been passed on, which only a detailed and thorough investigation could bring to light. In view of this, it was thought best to give a more or less detailed account of the material contained in the Sanskrit texts which have been read, mentioning the secondary material in footnotes only, and, keeping the purpose of the exercise in mind, to devote most attention to that Sanskrit account which was closest to the Old Javanese *kakawin*.

Very briefly, the purpose of the story of the hunter, in India as in Indonesia, was to illustrate the rewards in store for a person who observed the Night of Śiva. Even the most wicked person of the meanest social position could escape the harsh punishment of Yama's hell and be raised to enjoy the fruits of Śiva's heaven, if he observed the vigil and fasted and worshipped the *linga* on the Night of Śiva, even if this was not a deliberate action on his part.

It is interesting to note that the earliest mention of the Śivarātri

story in European sources,¹ is from the pen of the seventeenth century Dutch clergyman Philippus Baldaeus in 1672. In his book *Beschrijvinge der Oost-Indische Kusten Malabar en Choromandel der selver aengrenzende Koninckrijcken en Vorstendomme als oock het Keijserrijck Ceylon nevens de Afgoderije der Oost-Indische Heijdenen* he mentions the fast *Zuiverasiri* (Śivarātri) held in the month February, and tells the story which was associated with this fast.² It concerned a forest dweller called

¹ Another early missionary and critic of Baldaeus, the German Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Malabarisches Heidenthums*, 1711, pp. 88-89, writes about a yearly "Fastnacht, welche in Februario Monat einfällt und *Tschivarātri* genant wird". Another early account is to be found on p. 152 of Dr. Olfert Dapper's *Asia, of naukeurige beschryving van het Rijk des Grooten Mogols en een groot gedeelte van Indiën*, published in 1672. A story which involved a tiger was known to H. H. Wilson when he wrote an account of "The Religious Festivals of the Hindus" in 1846 in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; this story appears also to be known in Bali, see pp. 261, 288 below.

A Bengali student of Professor Gaestlin, Miss M. Khatun, presented him with a number of pamphlets, written in Bengali, which contained information on the festival of Śivarātri. In one of these was the story of the experiences of a hunter on the Night of Śiva, similar to the story recorded by the Abbé J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, pp. 706-708, and which he claimed to have taken from the Skandapurāṇa. This concerned a hunter who lived in Benares, a man of short stature, dark complexion and of violent temper. One day, when out hunting, he caught so many birds that he could hardly carry them and as the night was coming on, fearing he might lose his catch and perhaps be eaten himself by wild animals, he took refuge in a *vepu* (*bilva* ed.) or margosa tree. Cold, hungry and terrified he spent a miserable night (in the month Phālguna). During the night he moved about in the tree and in doing so shook the branches of the tree; dew together with leaves, flowers and fruit fell down on to a *linga* which happened to be underneath. The hunter returned home in the morning only to die a few days later. Yama sent his emissaries to collect him, but Śiva, when he heard what was happening, sent his own messengers off to rescue the hunter. A violent quarrel ensued which soon turned into a battle which Śiva's messengers finally won. When Yama heard what had happened, he went to Kailāsa to complain to Śiva in person. When he arrived at the gate of Śiva's palace he met Nandi to whom he explained what had happened. Nandi then explained to him how the hunter came to be allowed to reach the Kailāsa.

P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. V, part I, pp. 225-236, gives the most comprehensive account of the Night of Śiva of all secondary sources to my knowledge. Other accounts in secondary sources are M. M. Underhill, *The Hindu Religious Year*, pp. 93-94; R. E. Enthoven, *Folklore Notes*, Vol. I, pp. 23-24; C. H. Buck, *Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India*, pp. 83-85; W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism, Being an Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus in Northern India*, pp. 295-296; H. von Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus, Religion und Gesellschaft im heutigen Indien*, p. 64; *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* ed. J. Hastings, s.v. *śivarātri*.

² Pp. 180-182, "Afgoderije der Oost-Indische Heydenen".

Beri who liked to hunt. Once in search of birds near a tank he climbed a *cuola* tree where he remained awake without food the whole night. To stop himself from falling out of the tree he plucked leaves from the tree and dropped them down on to a *Zuivelinga* (*Śivalinga*) which unbeknown to him stood under the tree. In the morning he returned home and several years later died. He was brought before Chiraputren (Citragupta?) who, finding that his life had been one of wickedness, condemned him to be taken to hell. As Yama's servants took him off, Ixora (Īśvara) rescued him and took him to paradise, explaining that his unwitting worship of the *linga* had set him free from the power of the Devil. Some people, claimed Baldaeus, said the hunter did not come down out of the tree because of a tiger underneath. He had begged the tiger to be allowed to go home and take leave of his family but the tiger at first refused, fearing some trick, but when the hunter swore by Ixora that he would return, he let him go. When the hunter had returned home and had eaten, he explained to his wife and children what had happened. His wife, and then his children, offered to go back in his place but the hunter would not allow them. Arguing, they all went together to ask the tiger to eat them but the tiger, when confronted with this situation, was at a loss to know what he should do. How could he deprive the children of their parents and yet, if he was to eat the children, he would be guilty of an even greater crime. He was saved from his dilemma by Ixora who came, gathered them all up, tiger and all, and took them off to paradise.

Baldaeus, man of God, could not let the obviously thorny theological implications that this story presented go by without comment, "O schrikkelijke ketenen der duysternisse, waar mede deze ellendige tot den wille des Sathans geknevelt zijn en gebonden, 2 Tim. 2. 26. Men moet zich verwonderen ten hoogsten hoe zulke dikke en drie dubbele Aegyptische duysterheyt in't herte van een redelijke Mensche kan komen . . ." ³ Was it theologically correct to suggest, as the story did, that it was wrong to kill "onredelijke Dieren" (unreasoning animals)? Who had ever heard of a "verstandigen en zoo conscientieuzen Tyger" or "dat de Tygers mede in 't Paradijs komen"? ⁴

³ "Oh terrible chains of darkness, with which these miserable ones are fettered and bound to Satan's will! (2 Tim. 2,26) One marvels in the extreme how such thick, threefold Egyptian darkness can arise in the heart of a reasoning human being . . ."

⁴ . . . "sensible and so conscientious tiger" or "that tigers also go to Heaven"?

In the *Jñānasāhita* of the *Śivapurāṇa*,⁵ in a conversation between a *sūta* and the *ṛṣis* there is an account of the Night of Śiva. In answer to the *ṛṣis*' question as to which rite Śiva rewarded with eternal bliss, the *sūta* explained that Śiva himself had once been asked the same question by Viṣṇu and Śiva's wife. On that occasion he had answered that the observance of the Night of Śiva was the most excellent of all and had gone on to praise it, indicating the date (14th of the dark fortnight of Māgha) on which it should take place and the rewards which ensued [*adhyāya* 72]. When the *ṛṣis* had heard this, they asked the *sūta* to tell them the rules for the performance of the rite. The *sūta* explained these [*adhyāya* 73] and then the *ṛṣis* went on to ask him to tell them the story of a man who had observed the Night of Śiva unwittingly and the reward he had obtained.

The story concerned a Niṣāda (Bhilla) called Rurudruha. He was a cruel man and had never once performed a single virtuous deed from his childhood on. He spent his days hunting and one day, which happened to be that on which the Night of Śiva was observed and about which Rurudruha knew nothing, he was asked by his mother, father and wife to go in search of food for them. Picking up his bow he went off into the forest where he wandered about in search of game, but by the time the sun had set he had caught nothing. Feeling it would be impossible to go home empty-handed and worrying what would become of his family if he did not catch anything, he decided to climb into a *bilva* tree which grew on the bank of a tank where he felt sure animals would come to drink. He had eaten nothing that day and had drunk only a little water [73, 4-16].

No animal appeared until the first watch of the night, when a doe came in search of water. As soon as Rurudruha saw her he placed an arrow in his bow. In doing this he dropped water and leaves from the tree onto a *liṅga* underneath and so his sins began to be absolved. The doe, seeing the hunter, asked what he intended to do. Rurudruha replied that he wanted to kill her to provide food for his family. The

⁵ *Adhyāyas* 71-73. A similar story to this is contained in a small book written in Kannada, *Śrī Śivalilāmṛta*, which quotes it from the *Skandapurāṇa*. This was translated for Professor Gaestlin by a former student, S. V. Raghavendra Char. Rai Bahadur, B.A. and Gupte, F.Z.S., *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*, pp. 214-222, cite the "Shivarātri-Vratkatha" from the *Līṅgapurāṇa* as their source for a variant of this theme. S. M. Natesa Sastri, *Hindu Feasts, Fasts and Ceremonies*, pp. 89-96, describes a similar story simply as a "Puranic legend". P. Thomas, *Epics, Myths and Legends of India*, pp. 94-95, mentions this version of the story too.

doe rejoiced that her worthless body would be of some use, but asked him to let her go first to see that her children were safely in the care of her husband. Rurudruha suspected that she was only trying to escape him and save her life. However when she called down upon herself the consequences of the sin of the brahmin who neglected the daily rites, the wife who disobeyed her husband, the man who neglected the *dharma* etc., should she not return, he let her go. The first watch drew to a close [73, 16-37].

Then a second doe, the sister of the first, came in search of water. When Rurudruha saw her he placed an arrow in his bow and in doing so once again dropped water and leaves onto the *linga* under the tree. As soon as the doe saw the hunter in the tree she asked what he was going to do, and when he had answered her as he had done the first doe, she also asked him to let her go and commend her children to the care of her husband. The hunter again suspected a trick to allow her to escape, but when she had called down upon herself the consequences of various sins should she not return, he let her go. So it was that the second watch drew to a close [73, 37-50].

A buck came along the watercourse. As soon as Rurudruha saw him he prepared his bow and once again as he did so he dropped water and leaves from the tree onto the *linga* underneath. Once again he was asked what he intended to do and explained as he had done before. The buck rejoiced that his body would serve some useful purpose but asked to be allowed to go and see that his children were safely in the hands of their mother. Rurudruha answered, claiming that he had already been cheated by the two other deer who had still not returned; the buck too was only trying to escape. The buck asserted that he was honest and called down upon himself the consequences of the sins of the man who has intercourse during the daily rites, who breaks the fast on the Night of Śiva, who lies, etc., should he not return. Rurudruha let him go and the third watch drew to a close [73, 50-69].

The three deer, when they had returned home, discovered that they had all promised to return to the hunter. Each wished to return in the place of the others. Finally, when they had comforted their children and given them into the care of neighbours, they all went back to the hunter [73, 70-77].

When Rurudruha saw them coming he made his bow ready and once again knocked water and leaves from the tree down onto the *linga* underneath and by so honouring Śiva in the fourth watch of the night all his sins were absolved. The buck told the hunter to kill

them all so that their bodies might serve a useful purpose, but Rurudruha, now fully enlightened, was amazed at the honesty and generosity of the deer, and became aware of his own cruelty and the banality of his life. He threw his bow and arrow aside and told the deer to go away [73, 78-87].

At that moment Śiva appeared before Rurudruha and rewarded him, instructing him to partake of all those things which delighted the mind, a palace and a large family. Rāma would appear before him, and when Rurudruha had praised him with devotion, he would obtain final release along with all righteous people. In the meantime the deer who were present before Śiva obtained final release and, climbing onto a celestial chariot, were brought with their children to Śiva's heaven [73, 87-96].

Thus it was that the hunter Rurudruha unwittingly observed the Night of Śiva and as a result attained unity with Śiva. The *sūta* concluded his account with a recommendation to others to perform the rite [73, 96-102].

In the Kedāra-khaṇḍa, the first section of the Maheśvarakhaṇḍa, in Skandapurāṇa,⁶ there appears another account of the Night of Śiva, this time in a discussion between ṛṣis and the sage Lomaśa. In the course of demonstrating the rewards to be had from devotion to Śiva, Lomaśa tells the ṛṣis the story of a Kirāta (Puṣkasa) called Caṇḍa [32, 92-96]. Both he and his wife were wicked and cruel. He enjoyed killing all kinds of creatures, deer, porcupines, rhinoceroses, birds and even brahmins [33, 1-9]. One day, which happened to be the fourteenth of the dark fortnight in the month Māgha, he had climbed into a *bilva*

⁶ *Adhyāyas* 32, 92-96 — 33. Kane, *ibid.*, pp. 226-7, gives a summary of this story. In the Brāhmottarakhaṇḍa of the Brāhmakhaṇḍa in the Skandapurāṇa, *adhyāya* 4, there is told the story of a king Vimardana from the land of the *Kirātas*, who at one and the same time was intent on wickedness and devoted to Śiva. Once, when they were alone, his wife, Kumudvatī, asked him why this was so. The king told her about his own previous existence. Once on the Night of Śiva during a great *pūjā* at a Śiva temple in the town, Pampā, a dog, performed a number of *pradakṣiṇas* of the temple; he was then beaten to death by the people standing near the doorway of the temple but because of the nearness of Śiva he was reborn as a king. His wickedness, his cruel devouring of all, stemmed from an unrestrained greed for food. The king then told his wife of her own previous existence as a pigeon. She had met her death when one day a vulture had thrown her down from a pinnacle on a Śiva temple where she had alighted to eat a piece of meat. Because this had occurred in the presence of Śiva she was reborn a queen. There follows an account of the following seven existences of this royal couple and their attainment of Śiva's heaven because of the power obtained from the worship of Śiva.

tree to watch for wild boar. Thirsty and hungry, he kept himself awake by dropping leaves from the tree down onto a *liṅga* underneath; he rinsed his mouth out and spat the water out over the *liṅga* too. So it was that he unwittingly performed a rite in honour of Śiva. In the morning he climbed down from the tree and began to fish [33, 10-15].

The previous evening his wife had gone to meet him at the town gate. When he had not returned home after sunset she began to worry. Perhaps her husband had been killed by an elephant or torn apart by a lion; perhaps he had fallen from a tree when searching for honey, perhaps he had been bitten by a snake. She returned home not knowing what she should do. After spending an anxious and sleepless night, and unable to eat, she set out in search of him the next morning [33, 16-24].

As she walked through the forest, she found him fishing on the other side of a river. Leaving the food she had brought with her on the bank she swam across to meet him. They both swam back to the bank, thus completing the rite together. Before Caṇḍa could eat the food his wife had brought for him, his dog ate it and Caṇḍa's wife was extremely angry. Caṇḍa himself remained quite calm, telling her not to be obstinate and angry and instead to seek contentment through contemplation and understanding of the Truth [33, 25-37].

At this moment Śiva's emissaries arrived to take him to Śiva's heaven. Caṇḍa, unable to understand why this should happen, asked Vīrabhadra, the leader of the emissaries, to explain. Vīrabhadra told him that Śiva was delighted that he had worshipped the *liṅga* and kept a vigil on this night in Māgha, even if he had done so unaware of its significance. When he had been told this Caṇḍa stepped into the foremost chariot and in a throng of Apsaras, Gandharvas and Vidyādhara, and to the accompaniment of music he was led into the presence of Śiva [33, 38-64].

The ṛṣis then asked Lomaśa to tell them the origin of this rite. Lomaśa's reply begins with an explanation of the creation beginning with the Wheel of Time, ending with a list of *tithis* (moon days) and the god who favours each of them. The night of the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of the month is the most favoured time for a fast in honour of Śiva. Lomaśa then tells the story of the king Vicitravīrya who in a previous existence had been born of a brahmin woman and a man of low caste. He had been an utterly contemptible man, gambling, drinking, stealing and enjoying intercourse with his mentor's wife. Once on the Night of Śiva he had remained awake near a *liṅga* and as a result of this vigil had been blessed by Śiva to be reborn of royal

blood. The king because of his devoted observance of the Night of Śiva had attained final release and intimate union with Śiva. Other kings, Māndhatṛ, Dhundhumāri, Hariścandrādaya had all achieved salvation through the observance of the Night of Śiva [33, 65-101].

In the Ācārakhaṇḍa of the Pūrvakhaṇḍa in the Garuḍapurāṇa⁷ there is a short account of the Night of Śiva. Brahma tells of the observance of the Night of Śiva. Once Pārvatī asked Śiva which was the greatest observance. Śiva replied that if a man kept a watch on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of the months Māgha or Phālguna and praised Rudra then he would grant both pleasure and final release [124, 1-3]. Once there dwelt a wicked king Sundarasenaka on Mount Abu. One day he went to the forest with his dog. He caught nothing and when night came, hungry and thirsty he remained awake in a thicket on the bank of a pond. To protect himself he threw leaves onto a *liṅga* which stood there, unbeknown to him; as he sprinkled water about to lay the dust some of it fell on the *liṅga*, and when he dropped one of his arrows he went down on his knees before the *liṅga* to pick it up and in the process touched the *liṅga*. In the morning he returned home and ate the food his wife offered him. When he died he was bound and carried off by Yama's forces and was rescued, after a struggle, by Śiva's Gaṇas who brought him and his dog into the presence of Śiva where they became Gaṇas [124, 4-11]. Immediately following upon this is a description of the procedure for conducting the observance of the Night of Śiva, the *mantras*, the offerings, gifts, etc. [124, 11-23].

The Sanskrit account nearest to the Old Javanese *kakawin* is to be found in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa.⁸ As the text and a translation are included in the present publication, only a brief summary of the contents will be given here.

⁷ *Adhyāya* 124. Kane, *ibid.*, pp. 225-226, 230-231, gives a fuller account of this version. He makes explicit mention of a *bilva* tree, but the edition of Khe-marāja makes no such mention of this tree.

Agnipurāṇa 193 gives a very short account of the Night of Śiva only six *śloka*s in total. Agni explains what the devotee should do to observe the Night of Śiva, how he should pray and what rewards he expects, mentioning that a wicked hunter Sundarasenaka once attained the merit resulting from the observance of this rite.

H. B. Sarkar, *Indian Influence on the Literature of Java and Bali*, pp. 316-318, mentions that the story of the hunter also appears in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata; a quick search, however, has not brought it to light.

⁸ *Adhyāyas* 239-241.

The sage Vasiṣṭha in conversation with the king Dilīpa told the king that the Night of Śiva fell in the month of Māgha, mentioning that an outcast who had fasted on this night succeeded in reaching Śiva's abode on the Mountain Kailāsa [239, 79-81]. Dilīpa asked how it had been possible for him to do this. Vasiṣṭha praised the observance of the Night of Śiva as the greatest of all observances [240, 1-10] and went on to tell of a conversation between Śiva and his consort.

Śiva had been sitting on the mountain Kailāsa when his wife, Deveśī, had asked him to tell her about it. Śiva explained that the Night of Śiva fell on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Māgha or Phālguna. Other religious acts were not equal to even one ten-millionth part of this particular observance [240, 11-31].

To illustrate the reward to be obtained Śiva told the story of a Niṣāda. He was a murderous and evil man, fond of eating meat. He dwelt in the mountains with his family providing for them by hunting. One day when he was out hunting for wild boar in the forest he had failed to catch anything by the time the sun had set. He decided he would keep watch during the night and took up a position in (under) a *bilva* tree near a pool and in order to clear the way he removed a number of branches from the tree and dropped them onto a "natural" *liṅga* which stood underneath. He had nothing to eat or drink and remained awake the whole night; when morning came and he had still caught nothing, he returned home empty-handed. He was met by his father who prepared food for him to eat [240, 32-48].

After some time he died and was seized by Yama's Kiṅkaras. However Śiva, who saw what was happening, sent the Gaṇas to rescue him, saying that his sins had been absolved because of his observance of the Night of Śiva [240, 48-50]. When the Gaṇas arrived on the scene and tried to take the Niṣāda away a great battle ensued. Finally they got the upper hand and carried the Niṣāda off to Śiva, who rewarded him with a celestial body and a miraculous chariot, telling him to enjoy the pleasures of his heaven [240, 51-61].

In the meantime the Kiṅkaras had returned to Yama and told him what had happened. Yama asked Citragupta to check on the behaviour of the Niṣāda. Citragupta told Yama that according to his records the Niṣāda had been a thoroughly wicked man all his life. Yama determined to go to Śiva to find out why this wicked man had been accepted into Śiva's heaven [240, 61-77].

Śiva, when he had heard why Yama had come, explained that the Niṣāda had come to heaven because of his observance of the Night of

Śiva. Yama, when he had heard this explanation, took leave of Śiva and returned to his own realm [240, 78-103].

Deveśī thanked Śiva and asked him to tell her about the procedure for carrying out the rite on the Night of Śiva. Śiva then described to her the essentials of the rite, the series of rituals, the sorts of flowers to be used, the offerings of food, the gifts to be given at the completion of the rite, etc. [241, 1-25].

Śiva pointed out, however, that if someone was unable to perform the rite as he has described it, or performed it in another way, it was of no great importance; the rewards would be the same. These rewards he then compared with those resulting from various other observances [241, 26-35].

He then illustrated the power of the observance by listing the sorts of sinners who could be saved from damnation by the performance of the rite. Even the murderer of a brahmin, the man who violates the bed of his teacher, the murderer of an unborn child, the ungrateful, etc. could be released from the consequences of their sins [241, 36-55].

Vasiṣṭha concluded by underlining for Dilīpa the rewards mentioned by Śiva. The gods, *gandharvas* and the divine sages all wait in the presence of Śiva to welcome and confer boons on the devotee who performs this rite on the Night of Śiva. Whoever proclaims or hears about this rite shall be blessed in the heaven of Śiva. Dilīpa then went on to ask Vasiṣṭha about another śaivite rite [241, 56-71a].

2. Comparison of Śiwarātrikalpa and Padmapurāṇa Uttarakhanda, 239—241

A quick glance at the summary of the *kakawin*⁹ will be enough to indicate that it is closer to the account given in the Padmapurāṇa than to any of the other Indian versions recorded above. If we forget the 'frame' conversations between Dilīpa and Vasiṣṭha in the Sanskrit and the *maṅgala* and final two cantos of the *kakawin* for the moment, then the sequence of events in both cases is the same. A hunter who lived in the mountains with his family went one day to the forest in search of game. By sunset he had caught nothing and so decided to spend the night watching for animals. He climbed into a bael tree which grew by a pond. Tired and hungry he dropped leaves from the tree onto a *liṅga*

⁹ Pp. 7-12.

underneath. When morning came, still having caught nothing, he returned home. Some time later he died and was captured by the Kiñkaras, Yama's servants, but was rescued by the Gaṇas and brought to heaven, where he was rewarded by Śiva. The Kiñkaras returned to Yama and explained what had happened. Yama, after consulting with Citragupta, went to Śiva to ask for an explanation. When the matter had been cleared up he returned home. Pārvatī, Śiva's wife, then asked her husband to describe the ritual for the observance of the Night of Śiva, which Śiva then gave, underlining the rewards to be derived from it.

Equally clear is the fact that both works are didactic. It has already been pointed out¹⁰ that the *kakawin* is an unusual one, its individuality being in part due to this characteristic, which it shares with its Sanskrit counterpart. The passage in the Padmapurāṇa has no literary pretensions, and is at times highly condensed, sometimes repetitive and swollen with extensive lists. Śiva's answer to Pārvatī's question about the ritual, wholly didactic in character, occupies 52 out of a total of 173 *ślokas*, approximately a third of the entire piece. The repeated praising of the observance and underlining of its substantial rewards, by both Śiva and Vasiṣṭha, are characteristic of the wholly didactic character of this puranic passage. The story of the hunter, reduced to its bare essentials, is to be found twice; the second time, when Yama comes to Śiva for an explanation of his action in allowing the hunter to come to heaven, the significance of the hunter's sojourn in the forest can be left in no doubt in the reader's mind after he has read Śiva's reply to Yama. But perhaps the most obvious demonstration is the context in which the account is presented — two 'frame' conversations, the first between Dilīpa and Vasiṣṭha, and within it, that between Śiva and Deveśī. Seen within this context, the entire account in the Padmapurāṇa in fact amounts to nothing more than the request for information about the observance of the Night of Śiva and the supplying of that information.

Yet if these points of similarity are obvious the difference in character between the two versions is perhaps even more striking. The essential difference is due to the fact that the *kakawin*, as its generic description would suggest, presents the subject-matter in a form intended to be aesthetically beautiful, a work of art. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should give a fuller and more satisfactory account than the *purāṇa*, concentrated as it is upon its single purpose. The *kakawin* is

¹⁰ Pp. 6, 33.

in fact typical of its kind in both form and language and in the inclusion of certain essential elements in its content. The descriptions of nature, the temple and the inhabited parts of the countryside which occupy the greater part of the hunter's journey and make up about a sixth of the *kakawin*, the long description of the battle between the Gaṇas and Kiṅkaras which fills more than a third of the entire text, and the description of the heavenly nymphs in Śiva's heaven, are typical of this genre and poignantly demonstrate the difference in character between the two versions being compared. It is not without significance, however, that while the Padmapurāṇa does not contain these elements, the story there does contain the possibility for such additions, without distortion of the central theme. More than this, it would appear possible to suggest that Tanakuṇ, if we accept for the moment that he worked from the present version of the story in the Padmapurāṇa, added these three elements at points in the story where the *purāṇa* presents the best opportunity for doing so. The description of nature is contained in the passage dealing with the hunter's journey into the forest; the *purāṇa* also lays emphasis on the battle, giving two descriptions of it, and therefore would have given Tanakuṇ ample opportunity to expand at this point; the erotic description of the heavenly nymphs is found in the description of Śiva's realm, precisely where the Padmapurāṇa mentions the presence of such women.

At other points in the account the *kakawin* gives a much lengthier treatment than the *purāṇa*, but again the *purāṇa* provides an opportunity for this to take place without any distortion of the central theme. The audience of Śiva, when he sent the Gaṇas to rescue the hunter, and that of Yama when the Kiṅkaras were sent on their mission, the latter only hinted at in the *purāṇa*, are both treated fully in separate scenes in the *kakawin*. While in the *purāṇa* the episodes of the hunter's home-coming and death receive only summary treatment, presumably because this episode was not strictly essential for the didactic purpose of the piece, in the *kakawin* the relationship between the hunter and his wife is explored by the poet in two cantos, touching because of the description of the plight of the man and his family, an element picked up later in the scene where the hunter, alarmed at the approach of the Kiṅkaras, cries out to his wife and family. It will be seen below ¹¹ that while the Padmapurāṇa merely suggests the theme of family relationship, other Indian versions develop this aspect of the story more fully.

¹¹ P. 187.

So it is possible that Tanakuñ may have had an even more positive encouragement in his exploration of this aspect than the present version from the Padmapurāṇa would suggest.

The fuller treatment at these points in the story in the *kakawin* has meant that its didactic content is less central than in the Indian *purāṇa*. Thus, for example, while approximately a third of the puranic account is devoted to Śiva's reply to Parvatī's question, concerning the ritual, in the *kakawin* this takes up only thirteen stanzas out of a total of two hundred and thirty-four, an eighteenth of the total work. Clearly then, it is possible to argue that the demands of the genre on the *kakawin* provide some explanation for the not insubstantial differences between the two versions under discussion, differences, however, which have not meant alterations in the central theme, which is the same in both works. Nevertheless, when one comes to make a detailed comparison of the two texts, it is to be expected that, in view of these differences, similarities in detail can be but few.

Canto 2-7, 1; 240, 32-44: The Hunter's Journey.

It has just been mentioned that the two accounts of the hunter's journey in the forest differ considerably; the Sanskrit is highly condensed, while the Old Javanese contains quite extensive descriptions of nature, a temple, and the inhabited parts of the countryside through which the hunter passes. Despite these considerable differences there are points for comparison.

Canto 2, 1-3; 240, 32-35. In both accounts the hunter is described as a *niṣāda*; ¹² while he is given the name Lubdhaka ¹³ in the *kakawin*, he remains nameless in the *purāṇa*. Both the *kakawin* and the *purāṇa* specifically mention that he dwelt in the mountains with his family, for whom he provided by hunting, but while the *kakawin* mentions the sort of animals for which he hunted, the Padmapurāṇa makes only a general remark to this effect, ¹⁴ apart from the mention of wild pig (*vanasūkara*) as the specific object of his hunt on the day of Śivarātri. Both texts mention the fact that he was clad in a dark blue jacket

¹² For the Sanskrit see note 1 on the translation.

¹³ The *niṣāda* is referred to in the Padmapurāṇa with the word *lubdhaka* [240, 37, 42], but there is no reason to suggest that it is his name and it has been translated with the word "hunter".

¹⁴ Both texts mention the word *mṛga*.

(*kṛṣṇakañcuka* Skt., *kṛṣṇāmbārākañcuga* OJ), and that he carried a bow and arrow (*hrū len larasnya* OJ; *dhanurvāme grhitvā ca dakṣiṇe śaram uttamam* Skt.); the *purāṇa*, however, also mentions an arm and finger guard of the sort worn by bowmen and a shield; the *kakawin* simply says that he had with him all the equipment necessary for the hunt.

Canto 2, 4; 240, 36. The *Padmapurāṇa* mentions the fact that he intended to look for animals in the *āśramas* (hermitages) in the forest. The *kakawin* mentions a number of religious communities which could be covered by this general term.

Canto 4-5; 240, 37-43. In both accounts it is stated that the hunter had caught no animal by sunset when he came upon a stretch of water. The Sanskrit text is vague at this point, speaking only of 'water near at hand' (*jalam āsannam*); the *kakawin* makes specific mention of a large lake (*raṇu magōṇ*). There the hunter decided to spend the night. The *purāṇa* only implies that he did this in order to keep watch for animals which would come to drink (*karīṣye jāgarāṁ ratrau niścītā mama jīvikā*). The *kakawin* mentions also that the way home was dangerous. Having decided this he prepared himself a place to sleep (*adan pakējēpan* OJ) or to hide (*prachannam kartum ārabdhas cātmano guptikāraṇam* Skt.).

It is difficult to determine from the *Padmapurāṇa* whether he actually climbed into the *bilva* (bael) tree or not. It is not specifically mentioned, and from the fact that the *līṅga* was concealed by the branches and leaves of this tree, it seems unlikely that he would have had to climb the tree to obtain the leaves he dropped onto the *līṅga*. The *kakawin*, however, specifically states that he climbed into the tree and sat on a branch overhanging the lake.

The two versions differ as to his reasons for dropping the bael leaves onto the *līṅga*; the *purāṇa* says that it was to clear the way (*mārga-śodhane*), while the *kakawin* says that it was to keep himself awake, so that he would not fall from the tree and be killed by wild animals. Both texts agree that the *līṅga* was a "natural" *līṅga*, not fashioned by human hands (*Śīvalīṅga nora ginawe* OJ; *līṅgam svayambhūtam*, Skt.). The *kakawin*, however, mentions that the *līṅga* lay "in the midst of the pool" (*ri dalēm ikeṇ taṭāka*); interestingly enough the *purāṇa* says specifically that it was on the bank, concealed by the leafy branches of the *bilva* tree and amongst the *jālī* bushes (*jālimadhyataḥ*). None of

the Sanskrit versions of the story that have been read for the present publication mention the *līṅga*'s being in the water; *jāli* appears to be a word which is not common in Sanskrit. Could the Old Javanese poet have mistaken it for *jala*, 'water', remembering that the difference between long and short vowels appears not to have been phonemic in Old Javanese?

Both texts give different reasons as to why no animals appeared during the night; the *kakawin* says that the "great power of his penance was counteracted by his evil nature", while the *purāṇa* says that when the animals had caught his scent they fled fearing that they would be killed. At dawn he set out for home carrying his weapons (*laras hru OJ*; *tomara*¹⁵ Skt.).

Canto 7-11, 1; 240, 44-49: The Hunter's Return Home and his Death.

The two versions have little in common at this point. As was mentioned above the *purāṇa* devotes only very little space to this part of the story. The *kakawin* on the other hand explores the relationship between husband and wife in more detail. However, the mood of tragedy and sorrow which surrounds this part of the *kakawin* is not altogether absent from the *purāṇa* where apart from recording the hunter's death it is mentioned that the hunter's children had gone off despairing (presumably because of the lack of food). It is worth drawing attention to the fact that the *kakawin* places a great deal of attention on the children both in the homecoming scene and at the death of the hunter.

Both accounts draw attention to the hunter's own hunger and to the fact that a meal was prepared for him. There is one striking difference, however. In the *purāṇa* the hunter was met by his father who saw him returning empty-handed; in the *kakawin*, on the other hand, it was the hunter's wife who came to meet him, believing he had brought food home with him. It is only when he told her that she realized he had brought nothing. Both father and wife, however, show concern for the hunter's well-being; this is clear in the *kakawin* but only hinted at in the *purāṇa* in the father's question *putra katham rātrim upoṣitaḥ?*

There is no trace in the Sanskrit of the hunter's soul wandering aimlessly through the air, only mention that he was seized by the *Kiṅkaras* on the outskirts of Yama's realm.

¹⁵ He set out carrying a bow and arrow!

Cantos 11, 2-28; 240, 49-57: Battle between the Gaṇas and Kiṅkaras.

The problems of making any meaningful comparison of the two stories at this point are considerable. At every point the *kakawin* is so much more extensive in its treatment that points for direct comparison are difficult to find. The audience at which Yama despatches the Kiṅkaras is not mentioned in the *purāṇa*; nor does the *purāṇa* contain the *kakawin*'s long descriptions of both the Gaṇas and Kiṅkaras as they set out to find the soul of the hunter, except for the mention of the fetters and cudgels carried by the Kiṅkaras; the *kakawin* mentions other weapons at this point.¹⁶ As for the Gaṇas, the *purāṇa* mentions only that there were large numbers of them, a point which is mentioned also in the *kakawin*. They are described in more detail in the scene where the Kiṅkaras report back to Yama, but as the *kakawin* also describes them there, a comparison will be left until then. There is no mention in the *purāṇa* either of the hunter's despair after he had been caught by the Kiṅkaras or of the fact that he was bound by them. The only mention of the latter fact appears in the report of the Kiṅkaras to Yama, and there it is not they who bind him but the Gaṇas.

The lengthy description of the actual battle in the *kakawin* has no counterpart in the puranic story, where it is dismissed in only a few lines. There are, however, details which are interesting to compare. In the *kakawin*,¹⁷ Śiva summons his Gaṇas in expectation that the Kiṅkaras would seize the soul of the hunter and carry him off to Yama. In the *purāṇa*, however, the Gaṇas were despatched only when Śiva realized that the hunter had already been captured by the Kiṅkaras. Canto 12 shows some similarity with 240, 49-50; in both places there is specific mention that the hunter had the right to be brought to Śiva's heaven because of his fast on the Night of Śiva, and both mention the fact that the Gaṇas were sent off with (a) chariot(s); in both Śiva instructs the Gaṇas that they should not waste any time in putting his instructions into effect.

Canto 19; 240, 52-54. In both texts the Gaṇas arrive on the scene after the Kiṅkaras have captured the hunter; an argument develops and soon the two sides come to blows. The Gaṇas in both texts demand the release of the hunter who is described by them as noble and not

¹⁶ Canto 14, 5 *pamigraha rikaṇ niṣāda* could presumably be an indirect reference to "fetters", as later on (Canto 15, 6) they bind him up.

¹⁷ Canto 11, 2-12.

deserving of such treatment. The Kiñkaras refuse, pointing out that he was wicked. Canto 19, 4d of the *kakawin* and 240, 54a in the *purāṇa* refer to the tortures in Yama's hell; the Sanskrit makes a general reference to "the harsh punishments (of Yama)" (*krūrā yātanāḥ*), while the *kakawin* mentions "the Cow-Headed Cauldron" (*tāmbra gohwaktra*).

Canto 28, 9-10; 240, 56-57. While the two versions are again generally speaking close to each other, both noting in particular the wounds of the Kiñkaras, there are only two close similarities. Amongst the wounds of the Kiñkaras both note "heads which had been split open" (*bhinna-mastakakāyāḥ* Skt.; *sīvak mastakanya* OJ). Both also note that the Kiñkaras fled back to Yama's palace (*gatās te yamamandiram* Skt.; *anusi jōn Dharmarājēn kaḍatwan* OJ).

Canto 29; 240, 57-61; The Hunter is Rewarded by Śiva.

Generally speaking, the two texts remain close to each other; both mention the gift of a celestial body (*dīvyadeha* Skt.; *śarīra mukhya sahanēn Śivapada* OJ), of a chariot studded with jewels (*vimānaṁ . . . nānāratnasamāyuktam* Skt.; *ratnapuṣṭaka* OJ) and clothing (*warā-bhūṣaṇārja* OJ; the Sanskrit describes the hunter's celestial body as *kuṇḍalābharaṇojjvalaḥ*). There is one very close similarity; Canto 29, 5b, c, d could almost be considered as a translation of 240, 60b:

*sāsiṁ rāmya nikiṁ Śivālaya kitēka wihikana mamuktya tar waneh
yāwat pañca mahādibhūta salawasnya-n inajarakēn iṁ jagattraya
tāwat maṅkana tēkihēn lawasananta tumēmu sukha riṁ Śivālaya.*
(Whatever is charming here in Śiva's heaven you will indeed be able to enjoy, and no-one else.

For as long as the five great basic elements are taught in the three worlds,
So long will you enjoy bliss in Śiva's heaven.)

bhuñkṣva bhogān mama pure yāvad ābhūtasamplavam
(You must enjoy the pleasures of my realm until the dissolution of all things.)

Canto 30; 240, 61-77: The Kiñkaras Report to Yama.

Here there are a number of similarities. In both cases, after the interruption of the preceding scene in Śiva's heaven, the story of the Kiñkaras has had to be taken up again. Hence the similarity between 240, 61-2 and Canto 30, 1. *Dharmarājapurasthitāḥ* is matched by

i sampun ika paḍa tēkēn Yamālaya and procuś ca dharmarājānaṁ kṛtāñjaliparigrahāḥ by *sumēmbah i bhaṭāra Dharma tēhēr ... parēn majarakēn ri ...* Attention is drawn in both cases to the injuries of the Kiṅkaras, but while in the *kakawin* it is part of the Kiṅkaras' account of the battle, in the *purāṇa* it is part of the description as they stand before Yama; both mention that their heads had been smashed open (*bēntar i śirah* OJ; *jarjarikṛtamastakāḥ* Skt.). Both Canto 30, 2b and 240, 64 mention Yama's command to seize the hunter. Just as (*etasminn eva kāle* Skt.; *warwañ* OJ) the Kiṅkaras had taken hold of the hunter, the Gaṇas arrived on the scene (240, 64b; Canto 30, 2c-3a).

At this point there is a description of the Gaṇas; the two texts, however, do not have much in common. Both mention the fact that the Gaṇas were three-eyed (*trinetrāḥ* Skt.; *tiga mata nika* OJ), had many arms or hands (*sahasrahastāḥ* Skt.; *caturbhuja waneh mahasta daśa len śata ...* OJ), and were carrying weapons; the *purāṇa* gives an extensive list (240, 65a; 71), while the *kakawin* (Canto 30, 4a) simply mentions the fact they were armed with *warāyudha* ('excellent weapons'). It was mentioned above that the *kakawin* also contained a description of the Gaṇas as they set out in search of the hunter. Two interesting points emerge from a comparison with this part of the *kakawin*. Canto 13, 1d, *kadi tēka niñ mahāpralaya lampah ika gumuruh in nabhastala* perhaps contains an allusion to 240, 65a, *kālāgnirudrasaṅkāsāḥ*. 240, 66, *drstighnāḥ ... bhujāṅgahāravalayāḥ śaśāṅkakṛtaśekharāḥ* may perhaps be faintly echoed in Canto 14, 2, notably in the third line, *rawi makucēm mrēm anlihati teja niñ makūtaratnasāṅghya dumilah*. Canto 14, 3 makes much of the terrible noise that accompanied them as they went, a point made in 240, 66a.

The description of events in Canto 30, 3-4a, while not precisely the same as in 240, 67a-72a, is very similar.

wawañ ḍatēn ikañ watēk Gaṇa kabeh rumēbut iriya sañka ri ṇihulun kunēn ri pawarahnya rakwa winēkas tēkap ira Paśupati ameta ya praśasta pañucapnya pūrwaka makon anuwakēna ri puñkulun juga tuhun kami kabeh wihañ ri sawuwusnya kumanēñētakēn salin prabhu (3) ri mañkana nikāparēn ta ya mañēmbuli paḍa masikēp warāyudha ... (4)

[But suddenly *there came all the hosts of Gaṇas*, and wrested him away from us. According to what they said, they had been instructed by Paśupati to look for him. *First they announced that he was ordering us to free him*. But *we all refused to do as they said*, as we treasured in our hearts *all Your Majesty had said* (3). *Then all together fell on us, all armed with excellent weapons ...* (4).]

tatrāgatya tvarāyuktāḥ procur asmān idam vacaḥ (67)
muñcātainaṁ mahātmānaṁ tapasā dagdhakilbiṣam
śrutvā gaṇeśvaravākyam uktam asmābhir apy ayam (68)
na mokṣavyo niṣādo hi pāpātmā jīvaghātakah
anena ghātītā jivā asaṅkhyātā gaṇeśvarāḥ (69)
citrābhir yātanābhis tu vadhyo 'yam hi Yamājñayā
te tv asmadvacanaṁ śrutvā gaṇeśas tv atigarvitāḥ (70)
śūlaṭaṅkagadābhiś ca khaḍgamudgaratomaraiḥ
bhīṇḍipālakuṭhāraiś ca vajramuṣṭyupalaiś tathā (71)
vayaṁ hatā gaṇaiś tais tair mahābalaparākramaiḥ . . . (72)

[When they (the Gaṇas) had come hurrying there, this is what they said to us (67). "Release this noble man whose sins have been burnt away by his austerities!" When we had heard what the Gaṇas said, we too had something to say about him (68). "The Niṣāda ought not to be set free, for he is a murderous and wicked person. Uncountable lives have been destroyed by him, Lord Gaṇas (69). In accordance with Yama's command he is to be punished, tortured by various means." Now when the Lord Gaṇas heard what we had said, they were filled with conceit (70) and with the strength of a great army, they struck us with pikes, hatchets and clubs, with swords, hammers and spears, with javelins and axes, with vajras, fists and stones . . . (71-72)].

Canto 30 provides more parallels with the *purāṇa*; Canto 30,7b (*maśabda humēñēb-hēñēb panas ikaṁ hati . . .*) and 240,73 (*saṁkruddho dharmātmā jiviteśvaraḥ*) both mention Yama's anger; both Canto 30,9c and 240,76b mention Yama's concern at the possible result that Śiva's attitude towards the hunter would have for those souls who were in his keeping. Canto 30,10cd-11 is parallel with 240,74-76; Yama commands Citragupta to look in his records (*pustaka* Skt.; *galih* OJ) to see whether he can discover how the hunter has been able to reach Śiva's heaven; Citragupta answers that he could find no mention of any meritorious act on the part of the hunter (*dharmabuddhir na tasyāsti dharmādharmau na vindati* Skt.; *tathāpi taya puṇyamātra kahunin galih* OJ), and Yama decides to go to Śiva (*gatvā nivedayiṣyāmi hy ayogyān tais tu yat kṛtam* Skt.; *ya marma nira yan marā ri kahanan Giriśa masalahē gawe nira* OJ).

Canto 31-35; 240,77-103: Yama Goes to Śiva.

The two texts, except in the most general terms, are not parallel here. In both Yama's purpose is the same, namely, to resign (Canto 30, 11d; 240,84-85). Only in Śiva's speech to Yama do we find similarities. Canto 31, 1 and 240,77a are not dissimilar, but the *purāṇa* makes no mention of Yama's being accompanied by anybody, as does the *kakawin*.

At this point the *kakawin* contains a description of Śiva and Pārvati on the mountain Kailāsa; the *purāṇa*, while it has no such description here, does describe the scene elsewhere (240, 12-19; 241, 56-58), but the similarities with the *kakawin* are not many and the context is completely different; the first description comes early in the *purāṇa* as part of Vasiṣṭha's explanation to Dilīpa at the moment when Deveśi comes to ask Śiva about the observance of the Night of Śiva, the second is a continuation of the same scene but at the close of Śiva's account of the Night of Śiva. In the *kakawin*, as we have seen, the scene is set when Yama comes to resign, an event which in the *purāṇa* (unlike the *kakawin*) is reported to Deveśi by Śiva. Canto 30, 3c and 241, 56-58a are not unlike, both mentioning groups of divine beings present on Mount Kailāsa. Canto 31, 4a, b and 240, 13a both mention Śiva and his wife's being present on Mount Kailāsa¹⁸ and the fact that she was accompanied by servants, but in the case of the latter the *purāṇa*, while it contains no extensive description as does the *kakawin* (Canto 31, 4-32), does mention some of the qualities of Sumālīnī, 240, 18a, one of the women in Deveśi's retinue.

Canto 32, 7c, d and 240, 77b both introduce Yama's eulogy of Śiva, but have little in common; Canto 34, 1a, at the close of Yama's eulogy, however, refers to Śiva by his name Śaṅkara. The *purāṇa* (240, 100-101) contains a second eulogy of Śiva. There are no similarities between the two texts here at all, the *kakawin* mentioning a second eulogy only in passing (Canto 35, 1a).

There is another point of disagreement between the two texts. While Yama explains to Śiva why he has come in the *purāṇa* (240, 86-93), it is explicitly stated in the *kakawin* that Śiva had anticipated Yama's complaint (Canto 34, 1c) and asked his forgiveness for what he had done.

Canto 34; 240, 94-99. There are interesting parallels between the two texts here in Śiva's explanation to Yama. Both texts refer to the hunter with the word *śabara* (240, 95, 99; Cantos 34, 3a and 35, 1). Canto 34, 4-5 and 240, 95-98a are similar; both mention the fact that the hunter observed the Night of Śiva and both mention the date of the Night of Śiva as being the 14th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha;¹⁹ both list some of the rewards for observing it; Canto 34, 4b, c,

¹⁸ The Sanskrit text is ambiguous here, mentioning Śiva's wife twice. Deveśi (= Durgā) arrives and sees Śiva seated on the Kailāsa with Umā (?).

¹⁹ The Old Javanese refers to the seventh month; see Introduction p. 55. Māgha is the seventh month of the Old Javanese calendar.

*tuwin milagakēn saduṣkṛta tēhēr masuñ atisaya bhoga bhāgya len
awas tan anusir Yamāṇḍa . . .*

(Not only does it eliminate all evil deeds, but it gives special pleasure and good fortune as well. One will definitely not go to the realm of Yama . . .)

and 240, 96-97, where it is said of the Night of Śiva that it

bhuktimuktipradā nityam sarvapāpaprāṇāsinī (96)
evam mangaladābhīṣṭapradā puṇyavivardhinī yamaśāsanahantrī . . . (97)
(. . . eternally bestows enjoyment and liberation and destroys all sin (96)
and as such is the bestower of bliss, the grantor of desires, the augmen-
tor of merit, the destroyer of the dominion of Yama . . . (97)),

are parallel to one another!²⁰

In Canto 34, 3b, c, d, Śiva claims to have recommended the observance of the Night of Śiva in the primeval age but says that it had been forgotten; while finding no parallel in this part of the *purāṇa*, where it is simply said that Śiva had created this particular observance in the past from a desire for the well-being of the worlds (240, 99), a similar point to that made in the *kakawin* can be found in the scene where Deveśi asks Śiva to tell her about the observance of the Night of Śiva (240, 24; 26); there it is said that Śiva had told no-one about it.

The action on Śiva's part in resurrecting from the dead all those who had died in the battle between the Gaṇas and Kīṅkaras, referred to in Cantos 34, 6 and 35, 2, 3, finds no parallel in the *purāṇa*.

Canto 35, 1 and 240, 100-103, containing Yama's reactions to the rewards bestowed on the hunter, are similar. Cantos 35, 1a and 240, 101b mention praise being laid at Śiva's feet, but in different connections; Canto 35, 1d mentions Yama's observation that the *śabara* had become "equal to the hosts of the gods", while 240, 103b says that Yama went home, "seeing that the *śabara* had acquired the power of that observance".²¹

²⁰ Cf. 240, 30, where it is said that those who fast on the Night of Śiva "*na te yamaṇḍam yānti . . .*", which is also similar to Canto 34, 4c quoted above. In other parts of the puranic text the Night of Śiva is referred to as the destroyer of sins (240, 25) and the bestower of pleasure (240, 24).

²¹ The *purāṇa* makes no reference to his being equal to the gods, but Yama (240, 92) says that the hunter had "utterly vanquished all worlds and become a Lord Gaṇa", thus becoming equal not with the gods but with Śiva's servants.

Canto 36-37, 241, 1-67: Śiva's Discourse on the Form of the Ritual.

There are many parallels between the two texts in this section; the Old Javanese might even be regarded as a summary of the passage in the *purāṇa*. Cantos 36, 1b, c and 36, 2 refer to Pārvatī's pleasure at hearing what Śiva had said, and to her ensuing question about "what one must do if one should want to carry out the vow . . .". 241, 1-2 in the *purāṇa* imparts substantially the same information.

Canto 37, 1-2 is parallel with the *purāṇa* text 241, 5-7.

*riñ eñjin i huwus niñ aṅgēlar anusmaraṇa ḍatēṇa riñ gurugrēha
manēmbaha jugāmuitāñlēkasakēn brata sumuhuna pāda sañ guru
ri sampun ika madyusāsisaṅga maṅgēlarakēna śiwānalārcaṇa
tēhēr duluranōpawāsa saha mona manigasana śuddhakañsuga* (37, 1)

*ri sampun i tēlas nikañ rahina riñ wēni niyata matañhya tan mṛma
bhaṭāra śiwalinga kewala sirārcaṇan i dalēm ikañ surālaya
Kumāra nūniweh Gajendrawadana-ñ ruhunana sira kapwa pūjanēn
rikañ rajani yāma pat gēlarana krama nira manuta-ñ sakabwatan* (37, 2)

(In the morning, after applying the mind to concentration on the deity, you must come to the house of your teacher; you should then make an obeisance and ask his leave to carry out the vow, placing the foot of the teacher on your head. After that you must bathe, blacken your teeth and then perform the worship of Śiva's fire; this must be accompanied by fasting and silence, and you must put on a new clean jacket. (37, 1)

After the day is over you must stay up without fail during the night and not go to sleep. The holy lingga of the lord Śiva alone must be worshipped in the world of the Gods, Kumāra and Gajendrawadana (Gaṇeśa) must be honoured first. During the night the four watches must be observed in proper order, giving the ritual its full weight. (37, 2)

*prabhātasamaye buddhvā guror gehaṁ samāgataḥ
tasyājñāṁ prarthayet pūrvam vratānucaranāya vai* (5)
*snātvā śuklāmbaṛadharāḥ kṛtamauno jitendriyaḥ
kṛtāhnikavidhis tatra gate cārke samāhitaḥ* (6)
*snātvā vāinayakīm pūjām kalpayet purataḥ śubhaiḥ
yajanaṁ pratiyāmaṁ ca . . .* (7)

(After one has awoken at daybreak and come to the house of one's mentor, one should first ask for his instructions for the conduct of the observance (5). When one has washed and put on clean clothes, observed silence and has one's senses under control, and has gathered there after sunset having performed the daily rites (6), and has washed, one should first perform a pūjā in honour of Gaṇeśa (7a) . . .).

There are a number of things to be noted here. In the first place Canto 37, 2, apart from its mention of the worship of Gaṇeśa, appears

to condense the information on the various ceremonies in the ritual into a few words (viz. 37, 2a-d), and so the *kakawin* contains no passage directly comparable with the *purāṇa* 241, 7b-13a. Secondly, while the two texts indicate that the observance of the Night of Śiva must begin with the honouring of Gaṇeśa, the *kakawin*'s reference (Canto 37, 2b, c) to the *liṅga*, Kumāra, and Gaṇeśa together, is to be found later in the *purāṇa* (241, 44) where the three are mentioned together in a completely different context. The Sanskrit text makes no mention of "the concentration of the spirit" (*anusmaraṇa*)²² prior to going to the teacher's house, but 241, 6 makes a clear reference to the need to control one's senses (*jīteṇḍriyaḥ*) on the day prior to the observance of the Night of Śiva. Note, too, that while the *kakawin* refers to the need to worship "Śiva's fire" on the day prior to the Night of Śiva, the Sanskrit text makes reference to observance of the daily rites only.

Canto 37, 3 lists the flowers that should be used in the ritual. The *purāṇa* contains a similar list, 241, 13-16. The two list *campaka*, *aśoka*, lotuses, both white (*puṣṭānāga* Skt.; *saroja putih* OJ) and blue (*padmotpala*, *nilotpala* Skt.; *saroja biru* OJ); the Sanskrit does not mention the red lotus. The Sanskrit *tulasī* and the Old Javanese *sulasih* are both words for "basil"; *nāga* (Skt.) and *nāgapuṣpa* (OJ) appear to be the same.²³ *Waduri putih* is the Old Javanese name for the plant *Calotropus Gigantea* and therefore the same as the Sanskrit *arka*; *kucubun* (OJ) is the name for a type of *Datura*, which the *purāṇa* also lists, as *dhattūra*. Both texts list varieties of oleanders: *kañiri* (OJ), *karavīra* (Skt.), jasmine *mēnur* (OJ), *jāti*, *mallikā* (Skt.), and the bael tree *maja* (OJ), *bilva* (Skt.); the tree *Cathartocarpus* or *Cassia Fistula* appears in both texts, *taṅguli* (OJ), *aragvadha* (Skt.)²⁴; there are ten Sanskrit and four Old Javanese plant names left which appear to have no equivalents.

Canto 37, 4 of the *kakawin* deals with the offerings to be made, and is similar to 241, 16-17 of the *purāṇa*. In particular Canto 37, 4a, b:

lawan sahana niñ sugandha pakadhūpa saha ghr̥ta sudīpa riñ kulēm
ikañ caru bubur pēhan saha bubur gula liwēt acarub hatak wilis.
(And all sorts of fragrant things must be used as incense, together with

²² See also Introduction, p. 56.

²³ Monier Williams, under *nāga*, and *nāgapuṣpa*, gives the same botanical name.

²⁴ Hooykaas, *Agama Tirtha*, pp. 212-213, discusses the list of flowers to be used in this ritual in another text concerning the *Śivarātri*; he gives there the botanical equivalents of the Balinese and Old Javanese names.

ghee and bright lamps in the night. And as offerings milk porridge and molasses porridge, mixed with green peas)

and 241, 16b:

dhūpair dīpāis ca naivedyaḥ tāmḇūlaghṛtadīpakāḥ

(... with incenses, with lamps, with offerings of eatables, betel, ghee and saffron)

are similar to one another. Both mention incense, lamps, ghee and eatable offerings which contain rice.²⁵ The reference in Canto 37, 4c to fruits, drinks and meats (*phala pāṇa matsyaka*) as offerings associated with the worship on the Night of Śiva has a parallel in 241, 17a, (*aśeṣair bahubhakṣaiś ca bhojyaiś ca vividhair api*).

Canto 37, 5 and 241, 17-20 refer to the importance of music, singing and listening to holy texts in the ritual. There are important differences to which attention must be drawn, however. While the Old Javanese refers only to drums (*mṛdaṅga*) and all kinds of musical instruments, the *purāṇa* makes no reference to drums but mentions lutes (*vīṇā*), flutes (*veṇu*), and a general word for instruments (*tūrya*). The Old Javanese refers to the recitation of *kiduṃ* and *kakawin* and to the benefit of listening to the story of the hunter. The Sanskrit refers to the importance of singing and dancing, which is not referred to in the *kakawin* and to the recitation of the Veda and *mantras* from the Śivadharmapurāṇa, and while it makes no specific reference to the story of the hunter it underlines the importance of meditating on and listening to the sacred texts. Later on in this Sanskrit account reference is also made to the rewards to be had from explaining and listening to accounts of this observance (241, 60-61 ; 65-67), which presumably would entail listening to the story of the hunter, although it is nowhere specifically referred to.

Canto 37, 6 is parallel with 241, 21-25. At dawn gifts should be given to the brahmins (*mahādwiṇa* OJ ; *brāhmaṇa* Skt.), though the Sanskrit makes no mention of the golden *liṅga* (*suvarṇaśīvaliṅga*) of the Old Javanese text. The Old Javanese text's exhortation — "No matter who should happen by, you must give him presents according to your ability — do not refuse them" — appears to find a parallel in the Sanskrit's reference to the need to give to the "Young, old and infirm to the best of one's ability", as well as to ascetics, not mentioned in the Old Javanese text. The Old Javanese text, however, makes no special reference to the need to give gifts to one's mentor as the Sanskrit text

²⁵ The *naivedya* offering contains cooked rice amongst other things. See Hooykaas, 1964, p. 224.

does, nor does it mention anything about how one should address him at the completion of the ritual (241, 25). The Sanskrit makes no mention of the need to stay awake during the rest of that day, mentioned in Canto 37, 6d of the *kakawin*.

Both texts compare the benefits of performing the ritual on the Night of Śiva with the rewards to be obtained from other observances, but while the *purāṇa*, 241, 31b-35, mentions specific observances, the *kakawin* makes only a general statement which, while it finds no equivalent at this point of the Sanskrit text, does so elsewhere; Canto 37, 7b (*kasor saphala niñ mayajña-tapadāna ñuni-uni-n atirtha de nika*) could be a free translation of 240, 29 (*dānayaññatapastīrthavratākarmāṇi yāni ca, śivarātrivratasyāpi koṭyamśena samāni na*).²⁶

Canto 37, 7c, d-8 underlines the rewards to be obtained because of an observance of the Night of Śiva by listing the sinners whose sins are absolved by this particular observance. The Sanskrit text is more extensive, but all those mentioned in the Old Javanese are mentioned in the Sanskrit; both mention the murderer of a brahmin (*dviṣaghnā* OJ; *brahmahā* Skt.), the ungrateful man (*kṛtaghnā* OJ; *kṛtaghnaḥ* Skt.), the man who has violated his teacher's bed (*gurutalpaka* OJ; *gurutalparataḥ* Skt.), and the murderer of an unborn child (*matiraray ungu riñ wētēñ* OJ; *bhrūṇahā* Skt.). Canto 37, 8a appears simply to be a general statement and as such finds no parallel in the Sanskrit text. The reference of Canto 37, 7c to the person who has enjoyed "a thousand million sinful deeds in his previous existence" perhaps finds a parallel in 241, 40b, where there is reference to "the thousand corporeal sins". Both 241, 41b and 55 refer to the absolving of sins accumulated in previous existences. Canto 37, 7d, *tathāpi ya hilañ tēkap niñ umulah brata saphala Śiwādīsarwarī* (These (sins) will nonetheless be wiped away (*hilañ*) through the performance of the worthy vow of the eminent Night of Śiva) could be called a free translation of the phrase which recurs several times in this passage of the *purāṇa* (241, 45-55), *teṣām pāpāni naśyanti śivarātriprajāgarāt* (their sins come to nought (disappear, = *hilañ* OJ) by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva). This also applies to Canto 37, 8c, *sapāpa niki nāśa de niki-n atañhi manuḥ Śivarātri kottama* (All his sins are undone if he keeps a vigil when it happens to be the excellent Night of Śiva).

Canto 37, 9 also has similarities with the puranic text. The first line of this stanza, while not saying exactly the same thing as 241, 26a,

²⁶ Cf. also 240, 5; 241, 65-66.

comes down to the same thing! The rest of the verse, however, finds a close parallel in 241, 29-31 of the *purāṇa*.

*sakawiran i jāti niñ wwañ atuhānwama bini jalu kanyakā kunēñ
nyamēka musi riñ Śiwālaya mamukti sukha tan abalik prih iñ hati
sakahyun ika wastu siddhi katēkan katēmu phala nikāmañun hayu*

(No matter what sort of person he may be, old or young, woman, man or girl, he will surely reach the heaven of Śīwa and taste happiness and never have troubles again. Whatever he desires will surely be fulfilled and he will reap the fruits of the good he has done.)

*puruṣo vātha nārī vā kumāro vātha kanyakā (29)
kiñ na vindeta deveśi śīvarātrimahotsave . . . (30)
tasmāt tiṣṭhati maṅgalyaṁ suciraṁ kālam akṣayam (31)*

(Whether man, woman, boy or girl . . . what can they not achieve, Deveśi, in this mighty festival on the Night of Śīva. As a result of it there exists everlasting joy for time without end.

The final line of Canto 37, 9 (*sakahyun ika wastu siddhi katēkan*), while not found here in the Sanskrit, has a parallel elsewhere in the *purāṇa*, viz. 241, 67 (*yān yān prārthayate kāmāṁs taṁs tān prāpnoti mānavaḥ*); in 240, 97 Śīva describes the observance of the Night of Śīva as “the grantor of desires” (*abhīṣṭapradhā*).

Canto 37, 10 brings to an end the *kakawin*’s account of Śīva’s answer to Pārvatī concerning the ritual. In the *purāṇa* this is done in Vasiṣṭha’s speech, 241, 56-57. They have little in common. Both, however, mention that the gods were present, but while Deveśi is mentioned in the *purāṇa* there is no mention of her bowing before Śīva. The only comparable passage is the mention of this which occurs at the beginning of the *purāṇa* passage when she first comes before Śīva seated on Kailāsa (240, 17). The *purāṇa* 241, 59 refers to the fact that from the time when Śīva explained the observance on the Night of Śīva to Deveśi, the god Brahma and others (*brahmādyāḥ*) had observed the Night of Śīva. In the *kakawin*, too, it is said that “This was the time when the hosts of the gods went to carry out the vow, even unto the ends of the universe” (37, 10d).

3. Comparison with Other Purāṇas

The *kakawin* is significantly closer to the story in the Padmapurāṇa than to that in the other *purāṇas*. Nevertheless there are similarities between the *kakawin* and other puranic versions. In both the Skanda-

purāṇa and the *kakawin* the animals that the hunter was in the habit of hunting are listed. The Skandapurāṇa, Maheśvarakhaṇḍa 32, (5-7), lists fish (*matsya*), deer (*mṛga*), antelope (*kṛṣṇasāra*), porcupine (*śallakā*), rhinoceros (*khaḍga*), birds (*pakṣin*) and brahmins as the object of his hunting. As object of his search on the Night of Śiva only pig (*kola*) is mentioned. Of these the *kakawin*, Canto 2, 2, lists only pig (*wēk*) and rhinoceros (*warak*).

The Skandapurāṇa, like the *kakawin* and in contrast to the passage in the Padmapurāṇa, makes much of the relationship between the hunter and his wife. The wife's concern for the fate of the hunter when he has not returned by sunset, her anxious night waiting at home, and the scene when she finds him the next morning take up quite a good part of the story of the hunter found in the Skandapurāṇa. Apart from these two similarities the Skandapurāṇa and the *kakawin* have nothing else of importance in common.

Of the other versions only the Śivapurāṇa and the Garuḍapurāṇa have features in common with the *kakawin*. The Śivapurāṇa passage mentions the plight of the hunter's family without food and his concern for them (*Jñānasamhita* 73, 4-16), a point reiterated each time one of the deer appears. The Garuḍapurāṇa mentions briefly the struggle between the Gaṇas and Kiṅkaras over the soul of the hunter.

4. Conclusion

Clearly the *kakawin* and the passage from the Padmapurāṇa are different in character. The puranic passage, a didactic text with no literary pretensions, is concentrated upon conveying information regarding the observance of the Night of Śiva, its form and origin, the rewards which fall to those who follow the exhortations in the text to fast on that night. The Old Javanese *kakawin* also aims to instruct the reader about the observance on the Night of Śiva, but clearly this is also a work which was written with aesthetic pretensions. It digresses from the essentials of the central plot which is expanded with passages that in a purely didactic work would be considered unnecessary and treats each episode in the story fully, in an attempt to mould it into an aesthetically pleasing whole. This divergence in character has also made for a difference in the mode of presentation: formally then, while the *purāṇa* presents it as part of a conversation between the sage Vasiṣṭha and Dilīpa, between mentor and pupil, the *kakawin* treats the same sequence of events as a story in its own right.

One does not expect, therefore, to find similarities in detail in every line of the two works, similarities which in any case are unlikely to be literal because the two works are written in different languages. The unlikelihood of finding similarities, however, only serves to bring those similarities which do exist into sharpened relief. In some cases the similarities are strikingly close and in one or two places could be called translations. The incidence of these similarities increases with the hunter's rescue and arrival in heaven. Prior to this the *kakawin* diverges considerably from the *purāṇa* largely because of the long description of nature and the extensive account of the battle — features which appear to have been a requisite part of all *kakawin*, and the presence of which in the Old Javanese text could therefore be explained as additions made in Java.

Keeping in mind that at least at the present stage of enquiry, the *kakawin* is significantly closer to the version of the story from the Padmapurāṇa than that of any of the other *purāṇas*, is it not possible that Tanakuṇ based his *kakawin* Śivarātrikalpa, if not on this text from the Padmapurāṇa, at least on a text which was essentially the same? There are other factors apart from the text comparison which support such a suggestion. Above²⁷ the point has been made that Tanakuṇ might possibly have gained the inspiration not only for this work but for others as well from direct contact with Vijayanagara which just prior to the writing of Tanakuṇ's poem was enjoying one of the most flourishing periods in its history. During this time the observance of the Night of Śiva is referred to in a number of inscriptions. The poet Śrīnātha, with a command of both Sanskrit and Telugu, numbered amongst his works one entitled Śivarātri Mahātmya.²⁸ His grandfather, Kamalanābha, had already in the fourteenth century translated the Padmapurāṇa into Telugu,²⁹ a further translation of this work being made in the latter part of the first half of the fifteenth century by Madiki Siṅganna (1420 A.D. —).³⁰ Later in the fifteenth century Pillamari Pinavirabhadriah (1450-1480 A.D.), court poet to Narasiṅha, wrote among other things a work entitled Māgha Mahātya.³¹ Thus both the Śivarātri festival and the Padmapurāṇa were known in Vijayanagara at a time when Tanakuṇ could have had contact with it.

²⁷ Pp. 19-22 of the Introduction.

²⁸ Cf. p. 21 of the Introduction.

²⁹ Chenchiah and Rao, p. 63.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 65.

³¹ *Op. cit.* p. 66-67.

PADMAPURĀṆA¹

Vasiṣṭha uvāca :

māghamāsasya mähātmyam mayā vaktum na śakyate
yatra sã jāgaravatī śivarātriḥ śivapriyā (79)
kena vā varṇyate māghaḥ śivākhyā sã caturdaśī
yatrāvatāram kurute kailāsapadadāyini (80)
māghātyaye rudracaturdaśīti kācit tithir duṣkarakalmaṣaghñi
vyājena kenāpi kṛtopavāsam nināya kailāsapadam pulindam² (81)

iti śrīmahāpurāṇe pādma uttarakhaṇḍe
māghamāhātmye vasiṣṭhadilīpasamvāde
bhīmaikādaśyupākhyānam nāmai-
konacatvāriṃśadadhikadviśatatamo 'dhyāyaḥ [239]

dilīpa uvāca :

kena vyājena vai vyādho nirāhāro 'bhavan mune
kailāsam sa katham prāpa śivarātryāś ca vaibhavam
śrotum icchāmy aśeṣeṇa vada vistarato mune (1)

vasiṣṭha uvāca :

śṛṇu rājan pravakṣyāmi śivarātrivratam tava
vratānām uttamam sāksāc chivalokaikasāadhanam (2)

¹ Transliteration of the text published in Vol. IV of the edition of Rao Saheb Vishwanāth Nārāyaṇa Maṇḍlic, Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1893-4. In this text the editor has made use of different sorts of brackets; round brackets () appear to be his own emendations, viz. 240, 38; 54(?); 75(?) and 241, 9(?); 20; 21; 24; 32; 39; 47; 56; 60; 61; 69; 70; and in the indication of the speaker between 69 and 70 in 241.

There are square brackets [] in 240, 81; 241, 59-60 to which the note, *dhanuśahnārtargataḥ pāṭhaḥ, ṭha pustakasthaḥ*, 'the reading in brackets is in MS. *ṭha* (?)' has been attached, indicating a varia lectio. Square brackets occur in two other places, 240, 27; 95; the purpose of which escapes me. The reading within the brackets is needed if the lines in question are to have the correct number of syllables. There is no note attached to say that they are variant readings. Could they be the editor's own emendations to the text?

² 239, 81 is a mixture of Indravajra (— — — — — — — — — —) and Upendravajra (— — — — — — — — — —), and appears to be an Upajāti, but the pattern is not the usual a b a b but a a a b.

māghaphālgunayor madhye kṛṣṇapakṣe caturdaśī
 śivarātrīti vijñeyā sarvapāpāpahāriṇī (3)
 kṛtopavāsā ye tasyāṁ śivam arcanti jāgrataḥ
 bilvapatraīś caturyāmaṁ te yānti śivatulyatām (4)
 na tapobhir na dānaiś ca na vā japyasamādhībhiḥ
 prāpyate tatphalaṁ rājan nopavāsamakhādibhiḥ (5)
 guhyād guhyataraṁ loke vratam etac chivapriyam
 tvayāpi khalu sarvatra na prakāśyam idaṁ vratam (6)
 bhūddharāṇāṁ yathā merus tejasāṁ bhāskaro yathā
 dvipadāṁ ca yathā vipraḥ kapileva catuspadām (7)
 japyānām iva gāyatrī rasānām amṛtaṁ yathā
 puruṣāṇāṁ yathā viṣṇuḥ strīṇāṁ yadvad arundhatī (8)
 śivarātrivrataṁ rājan vratānām uttamaṁ tathā
 śivarātrir mahāvahnir bhavānīśasamanvitā (9)
 dahaty avārito yogāc chuṣkārdrāṁ kalmaṣendhanam
 etat te kathitaṁ rājaṁ śivarātrivrataṁ mahat
 evam eva purā devyai mahādevena bhāṣitam (10)

dilīpa uvāca :

kadā devyā mahādevaḥ kathāṁ pṛṣṭas tu tad vada (11)

vasiṣṭha uvāca :

kailāśasikharāsīnaṁ prasannamukhapaṅkajam
 trilocanaṁ caturbāhuṁ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam (12)
 umādhīṣṭhitavāmāṅgaṁ nāgayajñopavītinam
 varadābhayahastaṁ ca namajjanavarapradam (13)
 vyāghracarmaparīdhānaṁ candrārdhakṛtaśekharam
 gaṅgāplutajaṭājūṭaṁ bhasmagaurāṁ varānaṁ (14)
 dhārayantaṁ mahāmālāṁ jyotiścandrārkanirmalām
 jagadutpattisaṁhārasthityanugrahakāriṇam (15)
 maheśvāsam udārāṅgaṁ kambuḡrīvaṁ sulocanam
 sarvābharaṇasaṁyuktaṁ śuklayajñopavītinam (16)
 dṛṣṭvā praṇamya deveśī prahaṛṣam atulaṁ gatā
 tvaramāṇātha saṁgamyā deveśāṁ varavarṇini (17)
 śubhāṁ śubhāvatīm caiva vadānyāṁ ca sumālīnīm
 samāhūyāgatā devī bhūtastrībhiś ca saṁyutā (18)
 bhavapādābjayugale bhaktyā paramayā yutā
 vikīrya puṣpajālāni sumālīnyāhṛtāni ca
 kṛtāñjalipuṭā bhutvā papraccha śubhalocanā (19)

devy uvāca :

aho 'mṛtamayī caiva kathā pāpaprāṇāśini
 tava krīḍābhisambandhāt tvadvākyāmṛtasambhavā (20)

sukhāvahasukhodgīrṇā duḥkhakṣayavidhāyini
 nīlotpaladalānām ca mālevottaragandhinī (21)
 nādyāpi tṛptir deveśa śṛṇvatyā mama śaṅkara
 prārthitārthāny anekāni dānaṁ dharmas tathā pare (22)
 yajñās cāyāsabahulās tapāṁsi niyamāni ca
 bahūni tāni loke 'smin pūtāni vṛṣaketana (23)
 vratānām uttamam deva bhuktimuktipradāyakam
 yan na kasyacid ākhyātāṁ tvayā sarvārthasādhakam (24)
 śīghraṁ niliyate sarvaṁ pāpaṁ yacchravaṇād aho
 tad ahaṁ śrotum icchāmi kathayasva mamāgrataḥ (25)

maheśvara uvāca :

śṛṇu devi vrataṁ guhyaṁ vratānām uttamottamam
 yan na kasyacid ākhyātāṁ rahasyaṁ muktidāyakam (26)
 yena vai kathyamānenāpy adharmo [vi]layaṁ vrajet
 tad ahaṁ kīrtayiṣyāmi śṛṇuṣvaikāgramānasā (27)
 māghaphālgunayor madhye kṛṣṇapakṣe caturdaśī
 śivarātrir iti khyātā sarvayajñottamottamā (28)
 dānayajñatapastīrthavratākarmāṇi yāni ca
 śivarātrivratasyāpi koṭyaṁśena samāni na (29)
 yair iyaṁ kalihantrī ca kṛtāntapathanāśinī
 bhuktidā muktidā devi divānīśam upoṣitā
 na te yamapuraṁ yānti satyaṁ satyaṁ varānane (30)

devy uvāca :

kathaṁ yamapuraṁ vandhyaṁ kathaṁ śivapuraṁ vrajet
 etad eva mahāścaryaṁ pratyayaṁ kuru me prabho (31)

śrīmaheśvara uvāca :

śṛṇu devi yathā vṛttaṁ kathaṁ paurāṇikīm priye
 kaścīd āsīt purākāle niṣādaś cāmiṣapriyaḥ (32)
 parvatāgrānivāsī ca bhūddharāsannacāribhiḥ
 samutpannair mṛgair jīvan kuṭumbaparipālakaḥ (33)
 āpīnāmso dhanuṣpāṇiḥ śyāmāṅgaḥ kṛṣṇakañcukaḥ
 baddhagodhāṅgulitrāṇo vāmabāhau ca varmadhṛt (34)
 dhanurvāme gṛhītvā ca dakṣiṇe śaram uttamam
 nīrgataḥ sa vanoddeśān niṣādo māmsajīvakāḥ (35)
 vanaṁ gato nīrikṣiṣyan so 'ntardiśam itas tataḥ
 vanamārge samanvicchann āśrame vanasūkarān (36)
 nīrāśo lubdhako 'tiṣṭhad yāvad astaṁ gato raviḥ
 cintayaṁ jālam āsannaṁ gate 'rke jīvaghātakaḥ (37)
 kariṣye jāgaraṁ rātrau(ramiti) niścītā mama jīvikā
 gato 'sau jālam āsaṇnaṁ tattīre jālimadhyataḥ (38)

pracchannaṁ kartum ārabdhaś cātmano guptikāraṇam
 tatra saṁtiṣṭhate līṅgaṁ svayaṁbhūtaṁ varānane (39)
 saṁchannaṁ bilvaviṭapaiḥ sapatrair jālīmadyataḥ
 tāni bilvasya patrāṇi gr̥hītvā mārḡasodhane (40)
 nītāni dakṣiṇe bhāge nyapataṁl līṅgaṁ ūrdhani
 na divā bhojanaṁ tasya hy āmiṣālubdhacetasāḥ (41)
 nirikṣataḥ punas tasya na nidrāpy upapadyate
 tasya gandhaṁ samāsādy lubdhakasya varānane (42)
 na tiṣṭhanti mṛgāḥ sarve śaraghātabhayāt tadā
 tena sā śarvarī nītā hy udite sūryamaṇḍale (43)
 gato 'sau gr̥hamārgeṇa nirāśo dhṛtatomaraḥ
 māmśasūnyakaraṁ dr̥ṣṭvā pitā putram abhāṣata (44)

pitovāca :

nānītaṁ āmiṣaṁ putra kathaṁ rātrim upoṣitaḥ (45)

maheśvara uvāca :

tato niṣādaḥ pitaraṁ pr̥cchantaṁ pratyabhāṣata (46)

niṣāda uvāca :

nānītaṁ āmiṣaṁ tāta nirāśāḥ śīśavo gataḥ
 bādgate kṣud aparyantā tvam ito bhojanaṁ kuru (47)

maheśvara uvāca :

bhojanaṁ tu kṛtaṁ tena vṛddhena saha bhāryayā
 dharmahīno niṣādas tu dharmavartī vanāgataḥ (48)
 akāmāj jāgarād rātrau śivarātryāṁ varānane
 mṛto 'sau kālāparyante gr̥hīto yamakīṅkaraḥ
 śīvena preṣitās tasmai vimānagaṇakoṭayaḥ (49)

śiva uvāca :

śīghraṁ ānayata gatvā prāpto hi yamakīṅkaraḥ
 nirdagdhaṁ kilbiṣaṁ tasya śivarātryāṁ upoṣaṇāt (50)

maheśvara uvāca :

iti śrutvā vaco divyaṁ gaṇās te gantum udyatāḥ
 stuvantaḥ paramaṁ devaṁ śīvaṁ śāntam anāmayaṁ (51)
 gacchantaṁ ca gaṇeśās tam apasyaṁl lubdhakaṁ tathā
 gr̥hītaṁ yamadūtais tu pāśamudgaradhāribhiḥ (52)
 muñcataṁ mahātmānam ity ūcus tān gaṇeśvarāḥ
 tato 'bruvan yamabhaṭāḥ kasmād eṣa vimucyatām (53)
 krūrāsu yātanāsveṣa pāpiṣṭho(tyatām) jīvagātakaḥ
 tatas te hantum ārabdhāḥ khaḍgamudgarapaṭṭīṣaiḥ (54)
 gr̥hītvainaṁ mahātmānaṁ kīṅkaraḥ kālacoditāḥ
 prāvartata mahāyuddham anyonyavadhakāṅkṣiṇām (55)
 bhinnamastakakāyāś ca sūlamudgarasāyakaiḥ

jarjarikṛtadehās ca krandaṁānāḥ sudāruṇam (56)
 trāhi trāhīti garjanto gatās te yamamandiram
 niṣādo 'tha ganair nīto yatra devo maheśvaraḥ (57)
 dṛṣṭamātraḥ śivenāsau niṣādaḥ sukhatām gataḥ
 tato 'sau divyadehasthaḥ kuṇḍalābharaṇojjvalaḥ (58)
 tasmai dattaṁ maheśena vimānaṁ sārvaḡāmikam
 akṣamālāsamākīrṇaṁ puṣpamālāpralambitam (59)
 nānāratnasamāyuktaṁ nānāvāditraghoṣitam
 bhuṅkṣva bhogaṁ mama pure yāvad ābhūtasamplavam (60)
 evaṁ labdhavarō bhūtvā hy atiṣṭhaḥ chivaśāsane
 atha dūtā vadanty agre dharmarājapurasthitāḥ (61)
 rudhireṇāruṇāṅgās te jarjarikṛtamastakāḥ
 procuś ca dharmarājānaṁ kṛtāñjaliparigrahaḥ (62)

dūtā ūcuḥ :

śṛṇu rājan yathā vṛttaṁ yudhaṁ śivagaṇaiḥ saha
 nīto 'sau pāpakarmā tu niṣādo jīvaghātakāḥ (63)
 asmābhir niyate rājan kālaprāptas tvadājñayā
 etasminn eva kāle tu parameśagaṇeśvaraḥ (64)
 kālāgnirudrasaṁkāsāḥ śūlaṭaṁkagadādharaḥ
 siddhāḥ sahasrahastās ca trinetrās ca jaṭādharāḥ (65)
 dṛṣṭighnāḥ sarvatobhadraḥ bhasmapāṇḍuravigrahaḥ
 bhujaṅgaḥāvalayaḥ śaśāṅkakṛtaśekharaḥ (66)
 gambhīroddanḍasaṁrāvā bruvantaś ca muhur muhur
 tatṛāgatya tvarāyuktāḥ procur asmān idaṁ vacaḥ (67)
 muñcatainaṁ mahātmānaṁ tapasā dagdhakilbiṣam
 śrutvā gaṇeśvaravākyam uktaṁ asmābhir apy ayam (68)
 na moktavyo niṣādo hi pāpātmā jīvaghātakāḥ
 anena ghātītā jīvā asaṁkhyātā gaṇeśvaraḥ (69)
 citrābhir yātanābhis tu vadhyo 'yam hi yamājñayā
 te tv asmadvacanaṁ śrutvā gaṇeśas tv atigarvitāḥ (70)
 śūlaṭaṁkagadābhis ca khaḍgamudgaratomaraiḥ
 bhindipālakuṭhāraiś ca vajramuṣṭyupalais tathā (71)
 vayaṁ hatā gaṇais tais tair mahābalaparākramaḥ
 baddhas tu vividhaiḥ paśair grhīto jīvaghātakāḥ
 bahunātra kim uktena punas tair eva rakṣitaḥ (72)

maheśvara uvāca :

tair evam uktaḥ saṁkrudhho dharmātmā jīviteśvaraḥ (73)

yama uvāca :

paṇiṣṭho jīvaghātī ca niṣādo nirguṇas tv ayam
 kathaṁ śivapuraṁ yāti citragupta vicāraya (74)

citragupta uvāca :

nirīkṣya pustakaṁ tena na kiñcit sukṛtaṁ kṛtaṁ
dharmabuddhir na tasyāsti dharmādharmau(ddharmam) na vindati
etasminn akhilaṁ jñātaṁ satyaṁ satyaṁ vadāmy aham (75)

yama uvāca :

iti jñātvā niṣādasya citraguptaniveditam
so 'haṁ cintāṁ karomīha jantūnāṁ pāpakarmaṇām
gatvā nivedayiṣyāmi hy ayogyaṁ tais tu yat kṛtaṁ (76)

maheśvara uvāca :

evam uktvā gataḥ śīghraṁ yatrāste śaṅkaraḥ svayam
dr̥ṣṭvā tu devadeveśaṁ śaṅkaraṁ stotum airayat (77)

yama uvāca :

namas trailokyanāthāya mahābalapinākine
sākṣāt kālavināśāya kālanirdāhine namaḥ (78)
śivāgamārṇavāntasthajñānaratnapradāyine
hr̥di sthitāya sarveśāṁ sākṣiṇe jagatām vibho (79)
ajñānatimīrāndhasya tamaso 'tītamūrtaye
anāśritāya tuṣṭāya kapālāya namo 'stu te (80)
[anādimalabhetre ca cidguṇodayahetave
guṇapradāya gūḍhārthadyotakāya namo 'stu te] (81)

maheśvara uvāca :

evam stutvā mahādevaṁ praṇāmo daṇḍavatkr̥taḥ (82)

yama uvāca :

merumandaratulyāni duṣkṛtāni bahūny api
naśyanti tāni sarvāṇi tava pādābjacintayā (83)

maheśvara uvāca :

ity uktvā daṇḍamudrā tu pādābje tu niveditā (84)

śiva uvāca :

kim arthaṁ daṇḍamudrāpi tyakteyaṁ yama sattama
kenāparārdhinā dharmo dharmarāja upekṣitaḥ (85)

dharmarāja uvāca :

tvadgaṇair devadeveśa jagatām pālana prabho
madiyāḥ kiṅkarā deva ghātitaḥ śaktimudgaraiḥ (86)
niṣādo jivaghātī ca sarvakarmabahiṣkṛtaḥ
māṁsalubdhaś ca deveśa vicāra mahāvane (87)
na labdham piṣitaṁ tena niṣādena dhanuṣmatā
jalāsannagato rātryāṁ gate 'rke jivaghātakaḥ (88)
mṛgā vā na bhavanty asya na nidrā ca bhavaty aho
na kṛtaṁ bhojanaṁ diṣṭyā śivarātryāṁ upoṣitaḥ (89)

aparyantaṁ kṣudhāṁ prāpya udite sūryamaṇḍale
 grhaṁ gato 'sau deveśa tv asaṁprāptamanorathaḥ (90)
 pāpam evākarot pāpī niṣādo māṁsavikrayī
 anena sukṛtaṁ deva na kimcid upapāditam (91)
 vicitrayātanārhas tu pāpiṣṭho jīvaghātaḥ
 sarvāṁl lokān vinirjitya gaṇeśvaram avāptavān (92)
 devadeva mahādeva bhaktānām ārtināśana
 kiṁ kṛtyaṁ atra deveśa tvadājñākāriṇā mayā (93)

maheśvara uvāca :

ity ukto dharmarājena bhagavān bhaktavatsalaḥ
 prāha gambhīrayā vācā śivarātrim anusmaran (94)

śiva uvāca :

ayaṁ [hi] śuddhaḥ śabaraḥ puṇyātmā dhārmiko mahān
 tapasvī matpriyo nityaṁ śivarātrim upoṣitaḥ (95)
 śivarātrir iti khyātā māghakṛṣṇacaturdaśī
 bhuktimuktupradā nityaṁ sarvapāpaprāṇāśinī (96)
 evaṁ maṅgaladābhīṣṭapradā puṇyavivardhinī
 yamaśāsanahantrī ca śrīpadāyogadāyini (97)
 samyaksiddhikarī pūjyā saubhāgyaphaladāyini
 nirmitaṁ hi mayā pūrvaṁ sujāgaram anuttamam (98)
 vrataṁ tasyaṁ tithau śaivaṁ lokānām hitakāmyayā
 śivarātriprabhāvena kṛtārthaḥ śabaraḥ svayam
 jiviteśa varaṁ brūhi varado 'ham tavepsitam (99)

yama uvāca :

kṛpālaya mahādeva bhaktānām abhayaprada
 saṁsārasāgarabhrāntiparivicchedine namaḥ (100)
 namaḥ pinākahastāya namas te kṛttivāsase
 tava pādābjayugale bhaktiṁ dehi maheśvara (101)

maheśvara uvāca :

bhavatv ity āha bhagavān gaccha tvaṁ nagaraṁ prati (102)
 ity evam ukto vṛṣaketanena prahṣṭaromāvṛtasarvagātraḥ
 vrataprabhāvaṁ śabareṇa labdhaṁ paśyan padaṁ svaṁ bhavanaṁ
 jagāma ³ (103)

iti sṛmahāpurāṇe pādma uttarakhaṇḍe
 māghamāhātmye vasiṣṭhadilīpasāṁvāde

³ 240, 103 appears to be an Upajāti containing (a) Indravajra, and (b) Upendra-
 vajra, but in the second line the sequence is altered, the Upendravajra coming
 before the Indravajra. Thus in place of the normal pattern a b a b, we have a b b a.

śivarātriprabhāvakathanam nāma
catvāriṃśadadhikadviśatatamo 'dhyāyah. [240]

devy uvāca :

śruto vratānubhāvaś ca tvanmukhāmbhoruhān mayā
caritaṃ śabarasyāpi jiviteśagatis tathā (1)
nānārthadaṃ mahādeva śrutvā vākyāmṛtaṃ ca te
pṛitir asya svarūpaṃ yat punar me vaktum arhasi (2)

maheśvara uvāca :

jīvaghātī ca śabaraḥ śivarātryām upoṣitaḥ
abudhipūrvam deveśi gāṇapatyam avāptavān (3)
śraddhayābhīpsayā prītyā bhītyā ca hṛdayena vā
kṛtvā ca jāgaraṃ rātrau mucyate sarvakilbiṣaiḥ (4)
prabhātasamaye buddhvā guror gehaṃ samāgataḥ
tasyājñāṃ prārthayet pūrvam vratānucaraṇāya vai (5)
snātvā śuklāmbaradharāḥ kṛtamauno jitendriyaḥ
kṛtāhnikavidhis tatra gate cārke samāhitaḥ (6)
snātvā vaināyakiṃ pūjāṃ kalpayet purataḥ śubhaiḥ
yajanaṃ pratiyāmaṃ ca pādyārghair āgamoditaiḥ (7)
kṛtābhyaṅgābhīṣekaṃ ca pratiyāmaṃ samācaret
pañcagavyādibhiś caiva nālikeraphalodakaiḥ (8)
atho 'nyair abhiṣekārhair oṣadhibilvapatrakaiḥ
snāpanaṃ ca(yec ca) mahādevaṃ sahasrādyaiś ca śāmbhavaiḥ ⁴ (9)
piṣṭāmalakahāridracūrṇair udvartayet sudhīḥ
arcarayed bilvapatraiś ca gandhatoyaiś ca sevayet (10)
svarṇodakai ratnatoyaiś cābhīṣekaṃ samācaret
tāntavenātha nirmṛjya nīrājanam athācaret (11)
vastrair nānāvidhaiś caiva viśeṣair dhūpitais tathā
saṃveṣṭayed yathāśobhaṃ sauvarṇair bhūṣaṇair api (12)
alāṅkṛtya mahādevaṃ pūjayed bilvapatrakaiḥ
jāticampakapuṇnāgapadmōtpalakadambakaiḥ (13)
karṇikāranavaśvetamandārakurabais tathā
mallikāśokadhātūraśamyarkāragvadhais tathā (14)
karavīrayavāṅkolanandyāvartapālāśakaiḥ
tulasināgakoṇṭakusumaiś ca supūjayet (15)
nilotpalair viśeṣeṇa pūjayel līṅgam aiśvaram
dhūpair dīpaiś ca naivedyais tāmbūlaghṛtadīpakaiḥ (16)

⁴ 241, 9. Atho 'nyair is described in a footnote as *saṃdhir āṛṣaḥ*, 'archaic *saṃdhi*'.

aśeṣair bahubhakṣaiś ca bhojyaiś ca vividhair api
 jāgaragītanṛtyādyaiḥ pradīpādyupahārakaiḥ (17)
 tūryaghoṣair anekaiś ca viṇāveṇuravaiś tathā
 stotramaṅgalavādyaiś ca vedaghoṣair anekāśaḥ (18)
 śivadharmapurāṇādyair mantrair māheśvaroktakaiḥ
 pradakṣiṇanamaskārapraṇavaiś culukodakaiḥ (19)
 evaṁ (rātrau) prajāgaraṁ kuryāt pratiyāmaṁ viśeṣataḥ
 dhyānaṁ ca śravaṇaṁ nityaṁ śivadharmāgamena tu (20)
 śivamantrajapaṁ kṛtvā prabhāte vimale punaḥ
 dānaṁ bhaktyā(dattvā) ca bhaktānāṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ viśeṣataḥ (21)
 bālavrddhātūrāṇāṁ ca śaktyā ca paritoṣayet
 yogināṁ annapānābhyāṁ akṣasūtrakamaṇḍalū (22)
 kaupīnācchādanāṁ daṇḍaṁ bhikṣāpātraṁ ca bhasma ca
 dadadvittānusāreṇa guruṁ saṁpūjayet tataḥ (23)
 hemāṅguliyavastrādyair gandhapūjā(puṣpā)dibhiḥ śubhaiḥ
 saṁpūjya prārthayet paścāt kṛtāñjaliparigrahaḥ (24)
 tvadājñayā kṛtaṁ sarvaṁ śivarātrimahāvratam
 anuḡṛhṇiṣva mām nityaṁ aparādhaṁ kṣamasva me (25)
 vrataṁ kartum aśaktaś cec calacittaś ca mānavah
 athavānyaprakāreṇa jāgaraṁ kārayet punaḥ (26)
 geyanṛtyopahāraiś ca stotramaṅgalavādanaiḥ
 nānāścaryapradānair vā nānāvidhaphalānvitaiḥ (27)
 śivarātryāṁ viśeṣair vā śivakṣetre viśeṣataḥ
 yena kenāpy upāyena śivarātryāṁ upoṣitaḥ (28)
 jāgaraṁ kārayed dhīmān pātakaiḥ sa pramucyate
 puruṣo vātha nārī vā kumāro vātha kanyakā (29)
 kiṁ na vindeta deveśi śivarātrimahotsave
 bhartṛhīnā ca yā nārī śivarātryupavāsataḥ (30)
 tasmāt tiṣṭhati maṅgalyaṁ suciraṁ kālam akṣayam
 cāndrāyaṇasahasraiś ca prājāpatyaśatair api (31)
 māsoṇpavāsair anyaiś ca yat phalaṁ labhate ca saḥ
 tataḥ koṭiphalaṁ(guṇaṁ) labdhaṁ śivarātriprajāgarāt (32)
 sarvayajñatapodānatirthavedeṣu yat phalam
 tat sarvaṁ labhate devi śivarātrimahāvratī (33)
 saṁvatsaraṁ pratidinaṁ tapasā yat phalaṁ bhavet
 tat sarvaṁ triguṇīkṛtya śivarātryāṁ upoṣitaḥ (34)
 janmakotisahasrais tu yat phalaṁ pūrvasaṁcitam
 tat phalaṁ tasya deveśi śivarātriprajāgarāt (35)
 brahmahā gurughātī ca vīrahā bhrūṇahā tathā
 madyapaś ca tathā goghno mātṛhā pitṛhā tathā (36)

steyī suvarṇaṣṭeyī ca gurutaḥparataḥ sadā
 mucyate vṛṣalīśakṭaḥ śīvarātriprajāgarāt (37)
 paradārapradharṣī ca devabrahmasvabhā tathā
 mucyate mitraghātī ca kṛtaghno 'pi varānane (38)
 viva(vīrya)pracyāvakaś caiva līṅgapradhvānsakas tathā
 mucyate nātra saṁdehaḥ śīvarātryām śivārcanāt (39)
 vācīkāni vicitrāṇi mānasāni mahānti ca
 kāyīkāni sahasrāṇi tathā sāṁsargikāṇi ca (40)
 bhītvā vimucyate sarvaḥ śīvarātriprajāgarāt
 asthimajjāgataṁ pāpam sarvajanmāntarair api (41)
 buddhyābuddhyā ca deveśi yadi vā vāruṇīm pibet
 mucyate nātra saṁdehaḥ śīvarātriprajāgarāt (42)
 ajapitvā hutāśī ca adātā ca vimucyate
 yo labdhvā devi mānuṣyam alpasv api ca janmasu (43)
 arcayed aiśvaraṁ līṅgaṁ vighneśaṁ ṣaṇmukhaṁ tathā
 adhītya śivavidyām ca parebhyo na vadanti ye (44)
 vivṛṇvanti na śṛṇvanti tamopahatacetasah
 teṣāṁ pāpāni naśyanti śīvarātriprajāgarāt (45)
 ye nindanty aiśvaraṁ mārgaṁ āścaryaṁ dharmadarśanam
 vedāns ca śivabhaktāś ca vaidikācāram eva vā (46)
 naśyanti tāni(teṣāṁ) pāpāni śīvarātriprajāgarāt
 arcitaṁ śaṅkaraṁ dṛṣṭvā na namanty alpabuddhayaḥ (47)
 yeṣāṁ na rājate devi lālātaṁ bhasmakaiḥ śubhaiḥ
 teṣāṁ pāpāni naśyanti śīvarātriprajāgarāt (48)
 uttamāṅge jaṭā yeṣāṁ saṁsārabhayanāśinī
 prāñjali vā sadā mahyaṁ na namanti ca śobhane (49)
 teṣāṁ pāpāni naśyanti śīvarātriprajāgarāt
 na paśyanty aiśvaraṁ līṅgaṁ dinaṁ praty amareśvari (50)
 ye tu vā nāpi gacchanti śivakṣetreṣu mānavāḥ
 teṣāṁ pāpāni naśyanti śīvarātriprajāgarāt (51)
 ye ca brahmādibhis tulyaṁ tvām mām lakṣmyā ca śaktibhiḥ
 guruṁ ye prākṛtaiḥ sārddhaṁ saṁsmaranti vadanti ye (52)
 teṣāṁ pāpāni naśyanti śīvarātriprajāgarāt
 parvamaithunakartāraḥ paradārābhigāminah (53)
 ye parityāgasamhyuktāḥ punaḥ saṅgena bādhitāḥ
 śivalīṅgaṁ mahāpuṇyaṁ ye sprśanti na te kvacit (54)
 janmasv anekeṣu devi sādaraṁ dhriyate na vā
 teṣāṁ pāpāni naśyanti śīvarātriprajāgarāt (55)

vasiṣṭha uvāca :

ity evaṁ kathitaṁ viprā de(rājan de)vyai devena bhāṣitam

śivarātryāś ca mātmyam devānām saṁnidhau purā (56)
 matpūrvagaṇapāḥ sarve devā brahmapuraḥsarāḥ
 munayaś ca mahātmānaḥ sanātanapurogamāḥ (57)
 kailāsavāsinaḥ sarve merau devaniketane
 prītā babhūvur viprendrāḥ śraddhāṁ kṛtvā kutūhalāt (58)
 tadā prabhṛti brahmādyāḥ śivarātrimahāvratam
 [kurvanti gauravāt sarve śivasya parātmanaḥ (59)
 tasmāt sarvaprayatnena kartavyam tac chivājñayā
 śivarātrivratam] viprāḥ kī(rājan kī)rtayed yaḥ śṛṇoti vā (60)
 sarvapāpavinirmuktaḥ śivaloke mahīyate
 yatreḍaṁ kīrtiyate vipra(bhūpa) devyā saṁnihitaḥ śivaḥ (61)
 tatra devāḥ sagandharvāḥ sakinnaramahoragāḥ
 tiṣṭhanty anugrahaṁ kartuṁ śivarātryām prajāgarāt (62)
 asyādhyāsyasya yo 'rthajñāḥ sa vijñeyāḥ sadāśivaḥ
 taṁ pūjayaṁ mahātmānaṁ bhuktimuktipravartakam (63)
 mahāpātakayukto vā yukto vā sarvapātakaiḥ
 doṣaiḥ kṛtair na lipyeta vratānuśravaṇād aho (64)
 kīrtaniyam idaṁ sadbhīḥ śivarātryām viśeṣataḥ
 sarvatīrtheṣu yat puṇyam sarvayajñeṣu yat phalam (65)
 tat sarvaṁ koṭiguṇitaṁ prāpnoti śravaṇād api
 yat puṇyam śivarātryām vai vyākhyānenaiva tad bhavet (66)
 yān yān prārthayate kāmāns tāns tān prāpnoti mānavaḥ
 vratānuśravaṇād eva tat puṇyam labhate naraḥ (67)

dilīpa uvāca:

aihikāmuṣmikābhīṣṭhapradaṁ paramadurlabham
 caturthanirvṛter mārgaṁ caturvargaphalapradaṁ (68)
 śaivaṁ vrataṁ sadā śuddhaṁ viśeṣāt putradāyakam
 tapaścaryāpuraskāram asmākaṁ vada sūta(jaṁ) tan me vada
 sūta(vasiṣṭha) uvāca: [mahāmune)
 vratānām uttamaṁ viprā(bhūpa) viśeṣāt putradāyakam
 aihikāmuṣmikābhīṣṭhapradaṁ paramadurlabham (70)
 śṛṇudhvaṁ

iti śrīmahāpurāṇe pādma uttarakhaṇḍe
 māghamāhātmye vasiṣṭhadilīpasamvāde
 śivarātrivratākhyānaṁ nāmaikacatvāriṁśad-
 adhikadviśatatamo 'dhyāyaḥ [241]

TRANSLATION

[Following an explanation of the rules related to the performance of the rite on Bhimaikadaśī, the eleventh of the light fortnight of Māgha, the account of the Night of Śiva is begun by Vasiṣṭha, who says:]

If I am unable to give an account of the month Māgha, during which the Night of Śiva which consists of a vigil and which is dear to Śiva, occurs (79), who then will describe Māgha, the fourteenth day of which, bearing the name of Śiva and granting the right of entrance to Kailāsa, incarnates Śiva in the world? (80) One particular day in the course of Māgha, the day which bears the title the "Fourteenth of Rudra" and which destroys every kind of sin, raised a Pulinda,¹ who had fasted by some trick or other, to the Kailāsa.

This is the two hundred and thirty-ninth *adhyāya*, which is called "The Account of the Eleventh of Bhīma", to be found in the conversation between Vasiṣṭha and Dilīpa in the Māghamahātmya of the Uttarakhaṇḍa in the glorious and great Pāṇḍapurāṇa.
[239]

Dilīpa:

By what ruse was it that the hunter came to be without food, venerable sir? How did he reach Kailāsa and obtain the power (inherent) in the Night of Śiva? I wish to hear all about it. You must speak (about it) at length, venerable sir. (1)

Vasiṣṭha:

Sire, listen, and I shall explain to you about the observance of the Night of Śiva, which is clearly the most excellent of observances, the one means of reaching Śiva's heaven. (2) The fourteenth of the dark

¹ *Pulinda*, *Niṣāda* and *Śabara* are used in the course of the text to refer to the hunter and indicate his low social standing. While each of these is the name of a mountain tribe, in epic and later Sanskrit they all have the general meaning of outcaste, or person of a low social standing. Compare the words *bhilla*, *puṣkasa* and *kirāta* (which are used to refer to the hunter in other Sanskrit texts; see above, pp. 164, 166).

fortnight in the middle of Māgha or Phālguna is to be known as the Night of Śiva which absolves all sin. (3) Those who fast and, remaining awake, honour Śiva with *bilva* leaves during the four watches on that (night) attain identity with Śiva. (4) That reward, sire, is not obtained by austerities, nor gifts, nor meditation, nor prayers, nor fasting, nor oblations, etc. (5) This observance, beloved of Śiva, and highly secret here on earth, should certainly not be revealed anywhere even by you. (6) The observance of the Night of Śiva, sire, is the most excellent of observances just as Meru is of the mountains, the sun of what glows, the sage of two-legged creatures and Kapilā of four-legged creatures, the Gāyatrī of prayers, the Amṛta of liquids, Viṣṇu of men and Arundhatī of women. (7-9a) The Night of Śiva, the great bearer of oblations associated with the Lord of Bhavanī, as soon as it is in contact, burns sin's fuel unimpeded, whether it is wet or dry. (9b-10a) This great observance of the Night of Śiva, sire, has been described to you just as it was told to Devī formerly, by Mahādeva. (10b-c)

Dilīpa :

When did Devī ask Mahādeva and how? That you must tell! (11)

Vasiṣṭha :

Deveśī saw the Lord of the Gods seated on the peak of mount Kailāsa ; his lotus-like countenance was serene, he had three eyes, four arms and was adorned with every ornament. (12) Umā reclined against his left side and he wore a serpent as sacred cord ; he made the hand gestures *varada* (giving) and *abhaya* (fear not), granting a favour to one bowed down before him. (13) He wore a tiger skin, his head was crowned by the half moon, his hair tresses were washed by the Ganges, his exquisite countenance was white with ash (14) and he wore a great garland as bright as the stars, moon and sun. He nurtured the creation, destruction and maintenance of the world. (15) A mighty bowman, of noble stature, shell-necked and fair-eyed, he wore every ornament and a white sacred cord.² (16) When the fair Deveśī had bowed down before him and when hastening she had united with him, she enjoyed ecstasy unparalleled. (17) After she had summoned the beautiful, lovely and fair-spoken Sumālīnī, Devī came, accompanied by demonic women, (18) and after she had scattered the festoons of flowers, brought by Sumālīnī, at the lotus-like feet of the god with the greatest devotion, and had folded her hands in an *añjali*, the fair-eyed Devī asked, (19)

² The text here appears to contain a description of the *Umāsahitamūrti* of Śiva. Another possibility is the *Umāmaheśvaramūrti*. See T.A. Gopinata Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 129-130, 132-133.

Devī :

O your immortal stories, which destroy sin, which are formulated in nectar-like words for your own amusement (20), which, springing forth out of joy, bring joy and cause the destruction of misfortune, (these stories) are sweetly fragrant like a garland of petals from the blue lotus. (21) Now, however, śaṅkara, I have no pleasure in listening. There are many things which are sought after, gifts, *dharma* and others as well (22), sacrifices which involve considerable effort, austerities and acts of penance. These many things are pure here on earth, Vṛṣaketana. (23) You, Lord, have told no-one of the most excellent of observances which confers both pleasure and liberation and which is the means of achieving all one's goals (24), and which, when heard, destroys all sin. I wish to hear about it; you must tell me about it before anything else. (25).

Maheśvara :

Devī, listen to that secret and most excellent of observances about which no-one has been told, which is a mystery, conferring deliverance (26), and by the simple telling of which an unrighteous man will perish. That I shall recount. Listen attentively! (27) The fourteenth of the dark fortnight in the middle of Māgha or Phālguna is known as the Night of Śiva, the most excellent of all forms of devotion. (28) Religious acts in the form of giving, sacrifice, austerities, and observances related to sacred watering places are not equal to even a ten millionth portion of the observance of the Night of Śiva. (29) Who fasts day and night on this day which is the destroyer of the Kali (age) and the confounder of Yama's sway and which confers both enjoyment and liberation, he shall not go to Yama's city, beautiful-faced one. (30)

Devī :

How is it that the city of Yama becomes powerless and how does one reach the city of Śiva? This is indeed a wonder. Lord, you must provide me with proof (of this). (31)

Śrī-Maheśvara :

Devī my dear, listen to what happened in a story of ancient times. Once there was a certain Niṣāda who was fond of meat. (32) He dwelt amidst the mountain peaks with mountain people, providing for his family and himself from the wild animals which chanced to pass. (33) Heavy shouldered and black skinned, bow in hand, he wore a dark blue jacket, and an arm and a finger guard, and carried a shield on his left arm. (34) When he had picked up his bow with his left hand and his most excellent arrow in his right, the meat-eating Niṣāda set

out for the forest districts. (35) He went to the forest intending to look here, there and everywhere, searching the forest path and the forest hermitages for wild boar. (36) As the sun set the murderous hunter stood, his hopes blighted, and when the sun had gone down, contemplating the water near at hand, (37) (he said to himself), "I shall keep watch during the night; my means of livelihood has been decided." Then he went to the (stretch of) water which was nearby and there on the bank amid the *jālis* (38) he began secretly to construct a hiding place for himself. There, beautiful-faced one, amidst the *jālis* stood a "self-created" *līṅga*,³ covered by the leafy branches of a *bilva* tree. When he had taken hold of the leaves to clear the way (39-40), the leaves which he had transferred to his right hand fell on top of the *līṅga*. During the day, when his mind had been filled with a desire for meat, he had eaten nothing (41), and what is more, as he kept watch he did not sleep either. When all the wild animals caught the scent of the hunter, then, beautiful-faced one, fearing that they would be killed by an arrow, they did not remain there. (42-43a) Thus it was that he spent the night. When the sun had come up, carrying a spear he set off on the road for home, his hopes dashed. When his father saw that he had no meat he said to his son (43b-44),

The Father :

You've brought no meat, my son! Did you fast during the night? (45)

Maheśvara :

Then the Niṣāda answered his father who had asked (46),

Niṣāda :

I have brought no meat and consequently the children have gone off, their hopes dashed. A boundless hunger torments (me), so prepare something to eat! (47)

Maheśvara :

Then the old man and his wife made food ready. For his part the Niṣāda, who had been unrighteous, returned from the forest a righteous man (48) because of his unintended vigil on the Night of Śiva. When he died he was seized on the outskirts of Yama's (realm) by Yama's servants. Śiva sent tens of millions of Gaṇas and chariots forth (to fetch) him, (49) saying,

Śiva :

Go and bring him quickly, for he has (already) been reached by Yama's servants. His sins have been burnt away because of his fast on the Night of Śiva. (50)

³ See Gopinata Rao, *ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 80-82.

Maheśvara :

When the Gaṇas had heard these divine words they set out, praising the supreme god Śiva, tranquil and benign. (51) The lord Gaṇas saw the hunter going off captured by Yama's servants who were armed with fetters and cudgels, (52) and said, "You must release this noble man!" Then Yama's soldiers spoke, "Why should this man be released? (53) He is the most wicked of the murderers undergoing the harsh punishments (of Yama)." Then they began to strike out with swords, hammers and tridents. (54) When the servants who had been despatched by Yama had taken hold of that noble man, there ensued a great battle (in which both sides) wished death on each other. (55) (Yama's) Servants, their bodies and skulls split open by pikes, hammers and arrows, their bodies smashed to pieces, roaring frightfully (56), thundering, "Help! Help!" went to Yama's palace.

The Gaṇas then took the Niṣāda to where the god Maheśvara was. (57) As soon as he was seen by Śiva, the Niṣāda entered a state of bliss and then acquired a celestial body, glittering with ornaments and rings. (58) Maheśvara gave him a chariot able to go everywhere, bestrewn with rosaries, hung with garlands of flowers (59), covered with all sorts of jewels and acclaimed by various choirs, (and said) "You must enjoy the pleasures of my city until the dissolution of all things." (60) Then, his desires fulfilled, he stood firm in the teaching of Śiva. (61a)

Back in the city of Yama, their bodies red with blood and their heads smashed, the messengers spoke first, and said to the Lord of the Dharma, reverently making an *añjali* before him (61b-62),

Dūtas :

Sire, listen to how the battle took place with Śiva's Gaṇas. The sinful and murderous Niṣāda was carried off. (63) As you commanded, sire, when he had reached his time to die, we carried him away. At that very moment, however, clamouring with loud and deep voices, crying out again and again, the lord Gaṇas of Parameśvara came hurrying there. They had the appearance of Rudra who is the conflagration of the world; they were armed with pikes, hatchets and clubs; they were beatified, had a thousand arms and three eyes, and wore twisted locks, were blinding, excellent in every respect, each with a body white with ash; they wore bracelets and necklaces in the form of serpents, and their heads were crowned with moons. This is what they said to us, (64-67) "Release this noble man whose sins have been burnt away by his penance!" When we had heard what the Gaṇas said, we too had

something to say about him. (68) "The Niṣāda ought not to be set free, for he is a murderous and wicked person. Uncountable lives have been destroyed by him, lord Gaṇas. (69) In accordance with Yama's command he is to be punished, tortured by various means." Now when the lord Gaṇas heard what we had said, filled with conceit, (70) and with the strength of a mighty army, they struck us with pikes, hatchets and clubs, with swords, hammers and spears, with javelins and axes, with *vajras*, fists and stones. (71) The murderer was seized and bound with a number of fetters. What is the use of saying anything more, for the rest they protected him. (72)

Maheśvara :

The just Jiteśvara was greatly incensed when they told him this. (73)

Yama :

This Niṣāda is the basest murderer, devoid of any virtue! Citragupta you must look and see how he comes to be in the city of Śiva! (74)

Citragupta :

I have looked in my book and he has not performed one single good deed. He is not of virtuous mind and doesn't know the difference between right and wrong. I am telling you truthfully all that is known about him. (75)

Yama :

Now that I have heard what Citragupta has said about the Niṣāda, I am anxious about the evil-doers here. I will go and make it known that what they have done is not at all right and proper. (76)

Maheśvara :

When he had said this, he hurried to where Śaṅkara himself was seated. Now when he had seen Śaṅkara, the Lord of the Gods, he raised his voice in praise. (77)

Yama :

Praise to the lord of the three worlds, the mighty bowman; praise to the one who is manifestly the destroyer of death, who burns death away (78), who is the grantor of the jewel that is the knowledge contained within the bounds of the sea of the sacred texts of Śiva, who is in the hearts of all and who is the Witness (Sakṣin); O Lord, (79) praise be to you, the bearer of skulls, who is not dependent and is content, who has taken on a form which has surpassed the darkness of the gloomy blackness of ignorance. (80) To you, the destroyer of impurities which have existed since all eternity, and who is the cause of the arising of the quality of consciousness, praise be to you, the donor of good qualities, the illuminator of that which is hidden. (81)

Maheśvara :

When he had praised Mahādeva in this way, he prostrated himself on the ground. (82)

Yama :

Even evil deeds great in number and as large as the Merumandara all come to nothing through contemplation of your lotus feet. (83)

Maheśvara :

When he had said this he laid the rod which was his insignia of office at the lotus feet of Śiva. (84)

Śiva :

Why in fact have you given up this rod which is the insignia of your office, worthy Yama? Who is the offender who has transgressed the law, Dharmarāja? (85)

Dharmarāja :

God of Gods, Protector of the Worlds, Lord, your Gaṇas have beaten my servants with mighty hammers, sire. (86) The murderous Niṣāda who craved for meat and was destitute of any religious act went into a great forest, Lord of the Gods. (87) (However,) no meat was bagged by that Niṣāda who was armed with a bow. At night, after the sun had set, this murderer went to (a stretch of) water which was near-at-hand. (88) No deer came his way, he did not sleep, and by good fortune, eating no food, he fasted during the Night of Śiva. (89) After sunrise, when he had become terribly hungry, Lord of the Gods, he made his way home discontentedly. (90) This wicked Niṣāda, was a vendor of meat and has committed sins; he has not performed one single good deed, sire. (91) In spite of this, although he deserves to be punished in different ways, he has utterly vanquished all worlds and become a Lord Gaṇa. (92) God of Gods, Mahādeva, who destroys the sufferings of the faithful, what should I do in this matter, if I am to carry out your command, Lord of the Gods. (93)

Maheśvara :

When Dharmarāja had said this, Bhagavan who is compassionate to the faithful spoke in a deep voice, recalling to mind the Night of Śiva. (94)

Śiva :

This śabara who is pure, pious, righteous and great, an ascetic who is devoted to me, fasted throughout the whole Night of Śiva. (95) The fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Māgha, known as the Night of Śiva, eternally bestows enjoyment and liberation and destroys all sin (96) and as such is the bestower of bliss, the grantor of desires, the augmentor of merit, the destroyer of the dominion of Yama; (it is) the

bestower of the ornament which is the dignity of rank (97), the cause of complete perfection and the bestower of the reward of prosperity, and should be revered because formerly this unrivalled vigil was created by me (98) as a śaivite observance on that day, from a desire for the welfare of the worlds. The Śabara himself has achieved his desires through the power of the Night of Śiva. Jiviteśa, say what it is you wish; I am the grantor of boons; say what it is you desire! (99)

Yama :

Mahādeva, compassionate grantor of security to the faithful, praise be to you who destroy completely the rolling ocean of worldly existence (100), praise be to you, bearing a bow in your hand, praise to you clad in a skin; devotion should be laid at your lotus feet, O Maheśvara. (101)

Maheśvara :

Bhagavan said, "Let it be so; you must return to your city." (102) When Vṛṣaketana had said this to him the hair on all his limbs bristled (from joy) and seeing that the Śabara had acquired the power of that observance he went home to his own region. (103)

This is the two hundred and fortieth *adhyāya*, which is called "The Account of the Power of the Night of Śiva", to be found in the conversation between Vasiṣṭha and Dilīpa in the Māghamahātmya of the Uttarakhaṇḍa in the glorious and great Pādmapurāṇa. [240]

Devī :

From your lotus lips I have heard about the majesty of this observance, the story of the Śabara and what Jiviteśa did. (1) Now that I have heard your nectar words which are the bestowers of all kinds of wishes, Maheśvara, I am delighted. Will you please go on and tell me what form this observance actually takes? (2)

Maheśvara :

The murderous Śabara fasted on the Night of Śiva without prior knowledge, Devesī, and became a Lord Gaṇa. (3) When one has performed this vigil in the night with trust, longing, joy and fear, with one's heart even, release from all one's sins is obtained. (4) After one has awoken at daybreak and come to the house of one's mentor, one should first ask for his instructions concerning the conduct of the observance. (5) When one has washed and put on clean clothes, observed silence and has one's senses under control, and having performed the daily rites has gathered there after sunset (6) and washed, one should first perform a *pūjā* in honour of Gaṇeśa. (7a) During each

watch one should perform a *yajana*, composed of an *abhiṣeka* and an *abhyāṅga* with pure devotary gifts and foot water, as prescribed in the holy texts, and with the *pañcagavya* and juice from the fruit of the *nalika* tree (7b-8) and also with the leaves of other herbs and of the *bilva* tree which are suitable for an *abhiṣeka*. One should wash Mahādeva while (reciting) the thousand names of Śiva, etc. (9) The intelligent man should sprinkle Mahādeva with the powder of crushed *āmalaka* fruits coloured with turmeric, honour (him) with *bilva* leaves and wait upon (him) with fragrant water. (10) One should perform an *abhiṣeka* with water containing gold and water containing jewels, and after wiping (him) with a cloth one should wave lights (before him). (11) One should then wrap (him) with all kinds of raiments, especially perfumed ones, and cover (him) with golden jewels in order to give (him) a good appearance. (12) When one has adorned Mahādeva one should worship him with *bilva* leaves, with *jātis*, *campakas*, *puṁnagas*, blue lotuses, and *kadambas* (13), with *karṇikāras*, *navas*, *svetamandāras*, and *kurabas* also, and with *mallikas*, *śśokas*, *dhattūras*, *śśamis*, *arkas* and *aragvadhas* too (14); one should worship devoutly with *karavīras*, barley, *aṅkolas*, *nandyāvartas*, *palāsakas* and with *tulasi*, *nāga* and *koranṭa* flowers. (15) In particular one should worship the Lord's *liṅga* with blue lotuses and with incenses, with lamps, with offerings of eatables, and with betel and ghee and saffron (16), and also with every possible kind of food and drink, as well as with dancing and singing and other such things during the vigil, and with offerings in the form of lamps and so on. (17) (One should worship the *liṅga*) with the sound of *tūryas*, with many lutes and flutes also, and with the chanting of praises and benedictions and the mumbled recitation of the Vedas especially (18), and with *mantras* recommended by Maheśvara from the Śivadharmapurāṇa⁴ and other texts, and with the sacred syllable *om*, with exclamations of 'namas' (honour), and with *pradakṣiṇas* and handfuls of water. (19) Assuredly, during the vigil and in particular during each watch one should meditate on and listen to the holy texts which contain the śaivite *dharma*. (20) When one has muttered prayers at dawn, one should, with devotion, delight the devotees and brahmins especially with gifts (21) and the young, old and infirm to the best of one's ability and should delight the ascetics with rosaries and water jars together with food and drink, as well as with mantles and loin-cloths, staffs, begging bowls and ashes. (22-23a) One should then

⁴ Monier Williams, 1956, quotes Śivadharmapurāṇa as the name of a work.

honour one's mentor in accordance with the known custom of giving. (23b) When one has honoured him with splendid finger-rings of gold, with clothes and the like, and with offerings of perfumes etc., then reverently performing an *añjali* one should humbly say (24), "The noble observance of the Night of Śiva has been completely carried out in accordance with your instructions. You must always treat me with kindness and forgive me my wrong deeds." (25)

If a man is unable to perform the observance, or on the other hand if he should perform it in another way (26) on the Night of Śiva, especially on ground which is sacred to Śiva, with fine things such as songs, dances and offerings, the chanting of praises and benedictions and with different sorts of wonderful gifts provided with various fruits, by whatever means he has fasted on the Night of Śiva (27-28), should a wise man keep the vigil, he shall be set free from his sins. Whether man, woman, boy or girl (29), or even a woman deprived of her husband, if one fasts on the Night of Śiva, what can one not achieve, Deveśī, in this mighty festival on the Night of Śiva. (30) As a result of it, there exists everlasting joy for time without end. (31a) The reward which one obtains through the observance of a thousand *Candrayaṇas*⁵ or a hundred *Prājāpatyas*⁶ even, or through other fasts which last a month, in comparison with them, countless rewards are obtained by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (31b-32) The reward to be found in all sacrifices, austerities, gifts, holy watering places and in the vedas, the observer of the Night of Śiva obtains all of that, Devī. (33) The reward which exists because of penance which has been performed each day for a year, when one has fasted on the Night of Śiva, all of that becomes three times as great. (34) The reward which has been accumulated by thousands and tens of millions of people formerly, that reward, Deveśī, is the reward of the one who keeps the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (35)

The murderer of a brahmin, the killer of a teacher, the murderer of a noble man, the killer of an unborn child too and the drunkard likewise, the killer of a cow, the man who commits matricide or patricide (36), the thief, the stealer of gold, the man who continually

⁵ A fast regulated by the phases of the moon; as the moon waxes and wanes food is decreased or increased every day for the period of a month. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 134-138.

⁶ According to Kane, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 145-146, this fast is also known by the name of Kṛccha. There is a progressive reduction of food over a period of twelve days.

commits adultery with his teacher's wife and the one who is involved with a woman of low caste, they are set free by keeping the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (37) The man who molests the wife of another and likewise the one who destroys the property of the gods and brahmins, the treacherous man and the ungrateful man too, are set free, beautiful-faced one. (38) So too the man who masturbates, and the man who mutilates penises; there can be no doubt that they are released as a result of their praise of Śiva on the Night of Śiva. (39) When one has smashed asunder the diverse verbal and the great mental, the thousand corporeal and likewise the carnal (sins), one and all are set free as a result of keeping the vigil on the Night of Śiva (40-41a); this goes for the sin which has penetrated to the bone and marrow in all previous existences as well. (41b) Or if a man should drink liquor, awares or unawares, Deveśī, there can be no doubt that he is set free by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (42) The person who eats oblations without having prayed and without bestowing gifts and whoever has been born man even if only a few times (43), he is set free, should he worship the Lord's *liṅga*, Vighneśa and Ṣaṇmukha. Those who have studied the doctrine of Śiva and do not tell it to others (44) and those whose minds are afflicted with darkness and expound and do not listen, their sins come to nought because of the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (45) Those who revile the path of Śiva, the wonderful doctrine of the *dharma*, the Vedas, the devotees of Śiva and the Vedic ordinances (46) and the small minded, who, having seen the adored śaṅkara, do not bow down, their sins come to nought because of the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (47) Deveśī, those whose foreheads do not shine with splendid ash, their sins come to nought by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (48) Those whose locks on their head take away their fear of worldly existence and those who do not bow down before me, making an *añjali*, beautiful one, (49) their sins come to nought by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva. Those who do not behold the Lord's *liṅga* every day, immortal Īśvarī, (50) and those who do not go to ground sacred to Śiva, their sins come to nought by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (51) Those who say that I am equal in power with Brahma etc., and that you are equal with Lakṣmī, and those who speak or reminisce about their teacher with the common people (52), their sins come to nought by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva. Those who have intercourse on the days of the moon's changes, or who have intercourse with the wives of others (53), and those who are given to forsaking (women) and, what is more, are oppressed by intercourse,

those who never sprinkle the highly auspicious *Śiva-līṅga* with water at all (54) and those who do not live showing respect during the time of many existences, Devī, their sins come to nought by observing the vigil on the Night of Śiva. (55)

Vasiṣṭha :

This has been an account, reverend sirs,⁷ of the majesty of the Night of Śiva, as the God once told it to Devī in the presence of the gods. (56) All the lord Gaṇas born before me, the gods, the servants of Brahma, the noble sages with Sanātana at their head (57), all those who dwelt in the abode of the gods on Meru were pleased, most reverend sirs, when they had come to believe as a result of their curiosity. (58) From that time onwards the god Brahma and others, have all observed the Night of Śiva out of reverence for the noble-minded Śiva. (59) Thus because of the command of Śiva this should be performed with the greatest diligence, reverend sirs. Whoever shall proclaim the observance of the Night of Śiva or hear about it (60) shall be absolved of all his sins, and shall be blessed in the heaven of Śiva. Where it occurs that Śiva, together with Devī, is praised, reverend sir (61), there the gods, together with the *gandharvas* and *kinṇaras* and the great serpents are present to bestow their favour as a result of the observance of the Night of Śiva. (62) Those who are aware of the meaning of this chapter will be known as *Sadāśiva*. One should honour this noble promotor of enjoyment and liberation. (63) The committer of a great sin and the man who is addicted to every sin, are in fact not besmeared with the sins they have committed as a result of hearing about this rite. (64) In particular this should be proclaimed on the Night of Śiva by the sages. The merit which is attached to all sacred watering places and the reward from all sacrifices (65), one attains all of that, multiplied ten million times. May that merit derived from proclamation on this Night of Śiva also result from listening. (66) Whatever a man desires, he attains it; such is the merit a man obtains from just hearing about the observance. (67)

Dilīpa :

Son of a *sūta*, tell us about that eternally splendid śaivite observance

⁷ The text here is inconsistent. The account of the Śivarātri is presented as part of a conversation between the king Dilīpa and the sage Vasiṣṭha. In *śloka*s 56, 58, 60, 61, 70 it appears, however, from the nouns in the vocative case, that the conversation is between Vasiṣṭha and a number of sages. Attention must also be drawn to the vocative singular *vipra* in *śloka* 61 (one sage!), which further complicates the matter.

which is associated with the practice of austerities, which grants one's desires in this world and the next, which is extremely difficult to complete, the path to tranquillity of the fourth *āśrama* (?), the bestower of the four objects of human desire, and which in particular bestows children. (68-69)

The *sūta*:

Reverend sirs, you must listen to that most excellent of observances which in particular bestows children, which grants one's desires in this world and the next and which is extremely difficult to complete ... (70-71a)

This is the two hundred and forty-first *adhyāya*, which is called "The Account of the Observance of the Night of Śiva", to be found in the conversation between Vasiṣṭha and Dilīpa in the *Māghamāhātmya* of the *Uttarakhaṇḍa* in the glorious and great *Pādmapurāṇa*. [241]

PART THREE

FOUR BALINESE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TALE OF LUBDHAKA

In 1949, in an address for the Leiden University Day that year, I discussed two series of Balinese representations of the story of Lubdhaka, illustrated with slides. Since then I believe I have discovered two more depictions of the story. It is possible that still more will be found. We shall indicate these illustrations with the numbers 1, 2a, 2b and 3; another picture will only be mentioned in this survey. Below an attempt will be made, now that the text of the story is available, to explain the scenes which occur in these four illustrations. In using the words "left" and "right" we shall proceed from the view-point of someone seeing the illustrations before him, but in indicating parts of the body we shall proceed from reality.

ILLUSTRATION 1¹

This is, as the Balinese term has it, an *iděr-iděr*; it is 808 cm. long and 28 cm. wide. At the right-hand end the cotton fabric has been cut off. In 1933 it was given on loan to what was then called the Anthropological Section of the Royal Society "The Colonial Institute" (*Het Koloniaal Instituut*) in Amsterdam, now called the Royal Tropical Institute (*Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen*). The lender was the Dutch painter Charley Sayers, who had worked for a long time in Bali. The said Institute bought the cloth (registered as Series 809, 152) in 1953 as part of his estate, and has kindly given permission for its publication in this book. The *iděr-iděr* belongs to what is called the old style in Balinese painting, which means, in this instance, the style of the formerly independent principality of Klunġkuġ, which set the fashion with regard to painting in those days. What was produced by court painters in the *bañjar saṅgiġ*, or painters' quarter of the capital, was imitated in style in many, albeit not all, districts of the island.

¹ See Plates Ia to IIb.

The exact date of production of this item is unknown. On an estimate the cloth is about 100 years old. Perhaps the work was commissioned in order to serve as ornamentation for the wooden beams under the roof, which was supported by the wooden pillars of a *bale* (pavilion, hall), on the occasion of one of the periodically recurring religious ceremonies. The *idër-idër* may have served to shelter the offerings used at religious festivities in honour of a deity. The gods too, during their temporary presence on earth, enjoy old stories. The depiction of these tales is one of the means of causing heavenly beings to descend to this terrestrial plane. There were pieces designed specifically for a palace or house, or for a temple. They were formerly not permitted to leave these places, and were kept in a cane basket with a lid during the time they had no religious function to fulfil. In case of damage such cloths used to be replaced by new ones, made in the old style. Only in special cases were they dated or supplied with Balinese captions. The dating can perhaps also be estimated if we investigate when the first examples of the genre were acquired by Western museums or collectors, or were published. We hope to be able to treat some such datings elsewhere.

On the cloth ten scenes are portrayed in a certain order. The first seven depict the matters found in the text available to us from left to right, as comparison with it shows. Scenes 8, 9 and 10 continue to follow the course of the story as we know it from this publication, but now from right to left. The numbering refers to what we have left of the cloth, for, as was pointed out, it has been cut off at the right-hand end, clean through one of the figures portrayed there. Hence it is probable that there was more to be seen on the cloth in its original form. In any case we consider it possible that one more scene was depicted at that end, in order to supply a counterpart for what we shall be describing in the sixth scene, as it seems probable that the painter strove for a balance in composition in this way. It cannot be proved, no more than whether still further episodes from the story were illustrated at the right-hand end of the cloth. Until now I have not found the section which was cut off in any collection known to me.

Scene 1.

The scene is divided into a left and a right section. On the left we see a walled pond. On the water there are floating eight red lotuses and also withered leaves, some of which are fluttering down. In the centre is depicted a stone construction as base for a yellow-coloured

image of Śiwa, which has four arms. Two attributes of the three-eyed god, the fly-whisk in his left, rear hand and the rosary in his right, rear hand are also coloured yellow and likewise the lotus-cushion, placed on the blue floor. What the painter intended to portray was a golden image on a golden lotus-cushion, in the heart of which the image of the god, leaning a little to the right, is placed.

On the right a man dressed in a short, blue coat with long sleeves is sitting in that part of a tree where the trunk passes over into the branches, to each of which serrated, trifoliate leaves are attached. The figure, who is turned to the left, is holding one of them in his right hand. From the branches are hanging fruits, coloured light brown or yellow. In his other hand the man has a bow with its string turned upward. Near the bow a red quiver supplied with a lid is to be seen.

His lower garment is drawn up to above the knee. A fold of his garment is hanging down. His face has no demonic characteristics, and is now partially worn. The man has a moustache and is wearing a (now worn) coloured head-band over the front of his black, relatively short hair.

At the foot of the tree are found comparatively high earth-lines (called *karañ*), on the lower side of which two *curiñ* motifs are discernible. Above and beside the earth-lines the painter has placed *pañdan* bushes, which bear *pudak* spadices. On the right-hand side this growth has the form of a *pañdan urwan*, likewise with clusters of *pudak* among the leaves, which enfold a red centre. The latter does not correspond to reality, but is based on an embellishment of this plant-motif which is frequently employed by Balinese painters of the old school. This is also the case with the red tips of the tufts of grass to the left of the tree, around the trunk of which a red creeper winds itself. To the right we see the earth-lines again, this time with coloured rock-motifs (*karañ*) pointing to the right; they indicate the direction in which one must "read" what is portrayed.

What we see in this scene is distinctive for the story as it is found in the text. It is possible that the painter was acquainted with a version of it — ours or one which resembled it in the main. Perhaps he had made the acquaintance of one of the existing Balinese adaptations of the Old Javanese text. With these restrictions it is possible, if one wishes, to point in this connection to Canto 5, stanzas 3-6 of the *kakawin*. The *niśāda*, named Lubdhaka, had caught no game all day in a wood high in the mountains. Although he had indeed quenched his thirst, he had eaten nothing. Toward evening he sought shelter in a *maja* tree,

from where he could shoot at any game which came along. Toward the third hour he became sleepy. In order not to fall asleep and fall from the tree to be torn to pieces by wild animals, he began to pluck the leaves and to throw them in the deep water of a lake which the branch on which he was sitting overhung. In the water there was a *liṅga* not fashioned by man (Skt. *svayambhū-liṅga*), represented on the cloth by what, as was said, is intended as a golden image on a golden lotus-cushion, which iconographically can be identified as a standing, four-armed Śīwa in a gentle pose. According to the story the hunter was unaware that by this action, and also through his fast for the four times three hours of the 14th, up to and including the beginning of the 15th day in the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha (see p. 55) he was doing something which is very meritorious. He never adhered to the moral law during his lifetime, as we read elsewhere in the tale. The power of his observance would nevertheless rescue him from hell and bring him to Śīwa's heaven. His blue coat on the cloth reminds us of the short hunters' jacket of the text (2, 3b).

Scene 2.

In this scene we see the same man, dressed similarly, walking to the right with the quiver in the right and the bow in the left hand. Behind him a tree without *maja* fruit is now depicted. The leaves show red blossoms, a cliché in this type of painting. At the part of the tree where the man was sitting in the previous scene we now see a stylized stag-horn fern (called *mēñjanan sēluwan* in Bali). The earth-lines under his feet are not as high as the rock-motifs, which we also find in this instance on the cloth. Hence perhaps these indicate something different, namely mountain peaks. The triangular motifs placed next to or above them point in general to the right again. There are again stylized portions, namely tufts of grass partially coloured red, placed here and there.

This is a short scene on the cloth. In our text there is similarly but little space devoted to the hunter's return trip, after his fasting till sunrise. This episode of the story is to be found in the text in Canto 7, stanzas 1 and 2. There we read that he reached his home by the same route as he had followed the previous day while hunting in the mountain woods.

Scene 3.

We meet the same man whom we saw in the first two scenes of the

painting again in this scene. Now, however, he has let his lower garment drop to above the ankles. In this instance it appears that, according to the painter, the inside of his short, blue coat, which hangs down to the loins, is coloured red. He has arrived home, and no longer has his bow and arrows with him. The stylized red stones under the feet of the persons portrayed here indicate the immediate neighbourhood of a house. The hunter, with his hands in a gesture which indicates speech, is standing on the right. In front of him on the stone pavement of the courtyard a small *paṇḍan puḍak* is depicted, of which the foot is enclosed in a stylized, roughly square stone base. These *puhun binatur* still exist in Java and Bali. Two children, leaning forward slightly, are standing to the left of the shrub: a small, naked girl, with only a red scarf around her neck, and ear-rings and bracelets of a yellow colour (perhaps in the first case indicating palm-leaf as material, and in the second copper), and a somewhat larger boy who has a short lower garment with a fold hanging down which at the front hangs from his belt. Their expression indicates a question, as do the raised right hands. Both children have their hair cut short. The boy also has yellow-coloured bracelets on his wrist.

Behind this pair there stands a woman. Her head is turned toward the hunter, as are those of the children. Her head-dress shows a *gĕlunĭ*, a head-band and the usual ornaments above and behind the ear, pierced by a round ear-ring. She is also wearing a red scarf around her neck. Her red lower garment consists of two parts. The upper part reveals a stylized border, in white and blue, on the turned up inner side. As far as we can make out the painter intended the woman to be holding in her raised right hand (which has three bracelets) the red tip of her belt, thereby covering her partially exposed breasts. Behind this person, who beyond doubt must represent the mother of the two children and the wife of the hunter, we see part of an open *bale*, the roof of which shows stylized rows of *alan-alanĭ* as roofing material, in blue and red. On half of this roofing an ornamentation has been placed in the form of a one-eyed monster-head (*karani bintulu*), contained in a red border. The beam under the eaves and the two partially depicted wooden pillars bear an ornamentation which is still usual in Bali. They are intended to penetrate a wooden floor and (in reality) rest underneath on tuff stone blocks, although these cannot be seen here as they are obscured by the woman's body. What has been indicated is the ornamented wooden edge of the floor, and the mat lying on it, here coloured red. In the background we see cloud-lines. On the extreme right, before the

beginning of the stone pavement, the same high rock motifs are to be seen, with triangles pointing to the right. The placement of the *karai* motifs is intended in this case to indicate not only the direction in which the story on the cloth will be continued, but also to suggest that at the end of his journey the hunter has arrived from the woods or out of the mountains in the courtyard of his house, which is here indicated by a stylized stone pavement, as was mentioned above.

If we look up the poem we find in 7,2 c-d a description of the hunter's return home at sunset and of how his wife went to meet him. In the following stanza of the canto she asks him what he has brought in the way of game for the miserable children who have had nothing to eat but who now, like her, are delighted to be able to welcome him on his return home. In 8, 1-2 the hunter tells of his adventures during the previous day, when he was unable to shoot any animals and found such a dangerous refuge on a branch overhanging a lake. His wife answered him gently that in future he must not expose himself to such dangers. What would become of her and the children if an accident should befall him? Canto 8,4 tells us then that she offered her husband food and water, thus causing his tiredness to disappear. After sunset they went to sleep. Possibly the moment of the first speech of Lubdhaka's wife is portrayed here. It could be that the red mat already suggests a bedroom. The bed-curtains which we shall see in the following scene are, however, absent here.

Scene 4.

The joy of reunion has apparently been replaced in this scene by an episode of the story in which deep grief is depicted by the painter. The cause of this is to be seen on the left-hand side of the scene. A man, who is naked save for a blue garment with red border around his waist, without a head-band and with only one ear-ring visible as ornamentation, is lying on his back on a red sleeping-mat with yellow rosettes depicted on it, which probably indicate a weaving-pattern. The sleeping-mat is lying within the decorated wooden edges of the floor of an open *bale*, of which the roof is now completely visible and displays the same characteristics as that in the previous scene. In this case three of the four pillars are shown. On the left we see one of them passing through the floor and resting in a block of *paras* stone placed below it. This block stands on a foundation of stylized red stones. Vertical lines on the front of the floor may indicate a decoration hanging

down from the lower side of the ornamented wooden border of the floor. Above part of the rear of the floor the painter has depicted a curtain, the upper part of which bears flower motifs in light colours, while the lower part, like the sleeping-mat, is red in colour and bears the same rosette ornamentation. To the left the man's head is resting on one of the two blue pillows, which have red ends and a yellow border.

The man is holding his right arm horizontally along the body, with the fingers stretched out. The left arm, with the fingers in the same position, is raised a little. His knees are raised. It is as if this man is raising the lower part of his body somewhat, supporting himself thereby on his feet. The pupils of his partially closed eyes have been placed against the upper eye-lids.

The man's little son is sitting on the pavement in a squatting position against the front of the foundation of the *bale*. His hands are wrapped around the sides of his face, which is tilted backwards. This is a gesture which indicates lamentation. The painter also wished to put extreme grief in the posture of the girl who, like the boy, is placed by the side of the bed. She has fallen forward and is supporting herself on her hands, with her head turned downward. The mother is standing behind the daughter. With her left hand she appears to be indicating the miserable state of her children, while the back of her right hand supports her chin. In this way Old Javanese and Balinese art express strong emotion in general, and in particular fear and especially sadness. In this case her breasts are completely uncovered.

Behind the woman three men are standing on a stylized floor. The two in front have a young appearance. They are clad in more or less the same way as the hunter when walking in the second scene, with the difference that they have no coat but only the shoulder-coverings, chest, upper arm and wrist ornaments which are part of the *wayan* attire. Their facial expressions and the gesture of the raised right hands indicate speech. The third man has a somewhat darker complexion. He is similarly dressed. His right hand, like the woman's, is supporting his chin, while his left hand is turned upward against his chest, which together is most probably meant to express sympathy. A moustache, wrinkles over the nose and circles under the eyes (which have, as it were, a feminine form because of the straight line of the upper eyelid) imply that he is older than the two who are standing in front of (or next to) him. Large rock motifs, with triangles pointing in general to the right, close this scene on the right-hand side and introduce the following.

If one takes the poem as a guide for what the painter intended with the scene depicted here, it appears probable that we have here Lubdhaka's dying hour, as described in Canto 9. After some years have elapsed, we are told, death approaches in the form of a terrible sickness (1b); the fever increases (1c). Those who watch over him (*n atungu*) are at their wits' end (1d). The wife and children weep; according to the *kakawin* they are sitting at his feet (*malingih in dagan*). As 2a informs us, there is no medicine for the worsening disease, because of which (2b) the patient cannot rise and will eat nothing. In 2d it is observed that he is lying still with closed eyes. The patient groans. By way of answer to questions he merely shakes his head. The distressed wife cries and beats her breast (3a). Her concern goes out to her offspring (3b). The poet says that she bends over her husband (3c) and that she embraces him. This, no more than the beating of the breast, is not depicted by the painter here. Her grieving attitude was suggested sufficiently by the hand under the chin. The man dies (5c). He has to undergo all this as his soul has not been released because of his evil way of life (5d).

From the position of one of the arms and of the legs it is apparent that the painter wished to represent the moment just before the hunter's death. The relatives are indicated in 6a as *kadani*. Might we consider these to be a father with two sons? If it is true that the poet is able to move us with his words, then the painter has certainly equalled his art in this episode of his painting, which sums up the text.

Scene 5.

In this section of the *idŕr-idŕr* we see a man, leaning forward a little, standing in the air which, as is customary, is represented by stylized forms called by Balinese painters *awon-awon* (clouds or particles of air), and also *sĕksĕkan* (filling). It is striking that in this case they are not, as they normally are, placed horizontally but in a slanting position. This apparently indicates that the person is moving through the sky. To bring this out further the artist has not depicted earth-lines or rock-motifs on the lower side of the representation. The man is wearing only a lower garment which is pulled up to above the knees. Behind his ear a leaf-shape has been placed as ornament; above his ear a red flower has been inserted. There are no earrings. The right forearm is raised, with the fingers in a position which seems to indicate a request

or a question. The man has put the back of his left hand under his chin, apparently again as a sign of sadness.

In the air we see at the lower right a monster-head with flames as headdress, tongue hanging out and a big, projecting front tooth. This is a fire-demon (*kala gēni*), as it is called in Balinese painting and sculpture, as well as in *wayan kulit*. At the upper left a large bird is flying, heading to the left. The creature has long tail feathers hanging down in an arc, a short, somewhat curved beak and a long comb on its head. The lastmentioned is perhaps reminiscent of a peacock (*mērak*). In this case, however, we are apparently dealing with what the Balinese painters call a divine bird (*manuk dewata*, *paksi dewata* - soul bird?). The monster-head and bird occur occasionally in some scenes on other Balinese cloths, either separately or together, mostly in the depiction of episodes where a violent disturbance in nature is involved. The triangles of the *karan* motifs are pointing to the right here too, to conclude the scene. The largest of the cloud-motifs belong to a painters' tradition which stems from that of Java in the 14th century.

In the poem the lament of the wife after the death of the hunter is described at length. In Canto 10, 1b there is mention of a shroud (*rurub*) in which the deceased is wrapped in order to be conveyed along the slopes of the mountains. He relatives (*kadañ-kadañ*) who had appeared (as we saw in the previous scene) accompanied the deceased in single file along the path (10, 1c). He was cremated, and when his remains had turned to ash (*bhinasmī tēlas in gēsēñ*), those who had accompanied him returned home (10, 1d).

In the next canto the poet sings of the fate of the *niṣāda*'s soul (*niṣādātma*). It was sorrowful while it was in the air (*in hambara*). The reason for the sorrow was the fact that the soul did not know the way (*mārgapada*) which it should follow (11, 1d). When it was thus moving forward in the air (*in nabhastala*) (11, 2a), the soul was seen in this state by the god Śiwa (11, 2b). The god was fully informed on what the hunter had done on earth, and was aware that he would be carried off to the realm of Yama, the God of Death (*rin Yamālaya*) (11, 2d).

The fact that he was seen by Śiwa (which has not been shown here) leads up to what the painter portrays in the following scene. The depiction of the soul in this fifth scene of the painting agrees with what we see in similar cases on other Balinese cloths, and sometimes on East Javanese temple reliefs as well. For example, in the depiction of the punishments of hell, the soul has a body (*awak*) or a shell (*kurun*).

Scene 6.

This scene shows us ten men sitting in audience in front of a god, who is surrounded by his retinue. Here too the stylized stones below indicate the surroundings of a house, in this case the abode of a god. The god's four arms, his attributes and his vertically placed third eye point to the figure of Śiwa, whom we see sitting on a partially visible, yellow-coloured lotus-cushion, while a halo (Bal. *praba* or *kurun*) surrounds his form and the *padmāsana* as well. Here we can see the crown of this god more clearly than in the first scene. In this case Śiwa is not coloured gold. Leaning forward a little, he is looking at the people who have come to pay their respects to him, separated from him by a tree which bears the staghorn fern motif and is enclosed by a stone base. In his right, rear hand the god has a rosary wound around his wrist, which is adorned with rings, the gesture of the hand indicating speech. The left, rear hand is holding a fly-whisk — which in later times was taken as a whip in Bali,² but which here still displays the old form of the *cāmara*. The right, front hand is raised in front of the chest, while the left, front hand is resting on his thigh, which is stretched backward. The ornaments of the god correspond to those found in the Balinese *wayan kulit*.

In his following we can distinguish two categories of persons, each consisting of two people. The figures seated somewhat to the rear of the (invisible) throne are, according to data from other, already interpreted Balinese cloths, the gate-keepers of Śiwa's abode. Here Nandiśwara, with a demonic monkey-face, attired in a hermits' cap (*kētu*), and armed with in his right hand what is called a *daṇḍa* in the Balinese *wayan kulit*, is seen in front of his colleague Mahākāla, who has the countenance of a real demon, with spikes of hair behind his forehead ornament. Mahākāla is carrying in his right hand a weapon which, although shaped differently, is likewise called a *daṇḍa* in the *wayan kulit*. Both weapons terminate in a trident at the upper extremity, which could also possibly be taken to be a *bajra*. Nandiśwara's monkey-face points to a story which already occurs in the seventh book of the Indian Rāmāyaṇa. The gate-keeper is there called Nandin. In Old Javanese iconography Nandiśwara, placed to the right of Śiwa, has a trident (*triśūla*), and Mahākāla, placed on the left, a club (*gadā*). On Balinese cloths in the same style as this one and in later drawings

² J. Hooykaas, 1961, pp. 270-271.

or paintings the pair (of whom the one in front is here looking around and appears to be talking with the gate-keeper seated behind him) do not always bear weapons; where they occur they furthermore both occasionally have a hermit's cap (*kětu*) on, or again demonic curls, which in this case we encounter only with Mahākāla. Finally, there are instances known where neither Nandiśwara nor Mahākāla display a demonic facial expression.

In front of these two, directly below Śiwa's throne, are sitting two men who can likewise be immediately identified. In front kneels Twalen (as we shall call him, to use just one of his names), the Balinese counterpart of the Javanese Sēmar. Behind this venerable servant of gods and heroes kneels his companion Mṛdah (to use this variant of the name for simplicity's sake). This is the same person as appears behind Sēmar on the Javanese reliefs. Their headdress consists of a helmet equipped with a plume over their hair. They are wearing arm and wrist ornaments, but no anklerings (as we shall see later). Both are wearing only a waistband decorated with a check pattern (*polen*), Twalen's black and white and Mṛdah's red and white. Their left arms are extended downward, while the right hand is turned upward in front of the chest. Both their bodies, bent forward slightly with head erect, are turned to the side where the abovementioned group of ten men is sitting in audience, partially under but mainly behind the tree. We shall meet this pair again on the cloth in scenes 7, 9 and 10. The tree before Śiwa's throne also has red blossoms on the leaves, but bears no *maja* fruit. According to a piece of data from the Balinese astrological calendar (*palalintanan*) the *darśana* tree of this god is a *warinin*. We do not know whether the tree which is depicted here can be interpreted as such.

Partially under the tree, and to some extent in front of it, there sits (as was mentioned above) a group of ten men in two rows of five above each other — perhaps intended to be next to each other. An attempt is made here to indicate some of the characteristics of these figures in a summary of the data visible on the cloth. In both groups we find in front a dignitary who has his hands raised before the chin as an expression of homage in the direction of the god. The five below squat, resting on the right leg which is drawn under the body. It is probable that this attitude is also intended in the upper row. The position of the hands of the group of men below is different. If, for example, the left hand is held in front of the chest, the fingers are sometimes pointing upwards or are clenched. The ten men are all looking to the right,

except number four of the lower row who is looking around at the person squatting behind him and whose gesture indicates speech. The celestial figure in front in the upper row is wearing, as far as can be seen (the bodies of this group are partially obscured by the heads of the lower one) a red coat with long sleeves. This piece of clothing may also be intended as a jacket which, just as the hunter's coat, is called in the terminology of Balinese painters *kuwaca* (or *kuwati*, a regional variant). In this case the word may convey the idea of armour, such as Arjuna wears on some Balinese cloths when he takes up arms against the god Śiwa disguised as a hunter (cf. the *kakawin* Arjunawiwāha, 7, 6b).

All the persons seated in audience before Śiwa in this scene are wearing a kind of sect mark on the forehead, as do the two gatekeepers as well. Two of the ten men have a youthful appearance and lack a moustache. The other figures in the category of young ones do display a moustache. There are furthermore among the ten some who have wide open eyes. These also wear a moustache, but of another type; they are the ones who display two curved lines above the nose. Six of the figures in the two rows, five of whom have wide open eyes, have side-whiskers. Their headdresses have dissimilar forms. Some hair-styles (belonging to the men with a youthful appearance) are of the *gēluñ* type.

If we have a chance in a following scene to identify these ten with retrospective effect, we shall be able to make use of the above facial characteristics and types of headdress. The grounds for the identification of these persons in the sixth scene will be set out in the interpretation of the seventh scene.

If, with the restrictions mentioned earlier, we now again consult our text in order to locate passages relevant to what is portrayed here, we come first to the lines of Canto 11, 2 and 3 (already mentioned in Scene 5) where it is related that Śiwa sees the hunter's soul wandering in the air and summons his whole army (*sawatēk Gaṇa*) to rescue Lubdhaka from the demons' clutches. The soldiers hasten to obey the summons after having made an obeisance at the feet of the World-Ruler (*parēñ tēkânēmbah i jōñ Jagatpati*). Canto 11, 5a tells of the bands of Gaṇas (*gaṇasaṅghya*). They are concerned and wish to know from the god Īśwara (*hyañ Īśwara*) whether the summons is perhaps connected with the approach of an enemy who must be defeated (11, 3c-11, 4b). The god (*Bhaṭāra*, 11, 5b) looks kindly on them, apologizes for his summons and begins (11, 6) to explain the task of the army. There is

the soul of a *niṣāda* (*niṣādātma*) who was steadfast in his vow during his life. The soldiers must go to him and bring him to their master. If there is anyone who wishes to offer resistance or refuses to surrender the soul (the soldiers of the God of Death — *watēk Yama* — would naturally do that) then the divine army must not hesitate to seize Lubdhaka and then bring him to Śiwa's dwelling (*Śiwālaya*, 11, 7a-d). The Gaṇas make a *sēmbah* and ask why the god (*hyañ*) feels obliged to have the evil soul of Lubdhaka, who after all did nothing but kill animals (*mṛga*) all his life, come to him. The villain has not completed the least penance (*tapabrata*). Hence there is no reason for him to come to the Śiwālaya (11, 9c). He should rather end his days in the cauldron of hell with the bovine head (*tāmbra gohmukha*, 11, 9d). For is it not true (the divine army says) that Yama's servants, the Kiṅkaras (11, 10a), do not clap in chains people of good conduct who have been loyal to their vow (*brata*)? They know their work and make a proper distinction between people who go to heaven (*swarga*) and those who are destined for Yama's dwelling (*Yamālaya* 11, 10c-d). After they have finished speaking, the god Īśwara (*bhaṭārēśwara*) begins in 12, 1a to explain that there is a vow (*brata*) which the hunter has observed during his earthly existence. The whole world speaks of that excellent *brata*. All authoritative scriptures (*ādiśāstra*) emphasize that the Night of Śiwa (*Śiwarātri*) has incomparable merits (12, 1c). He is therefore despatching them all to seek the soul of the *niṣāda*, for the latter has remained loyal to his vow in an excellent way (12, 2b). If the soul comes, Śiwa continues, the splendid jewelled chariot (*manipuṣpakârja*, 12, 2c) must serve as his vehicle. The Gaṇas are expected, according to the god Śaṅkara, to acquit themselves of their task without delay (12, 2d, 3a).

If we note that what follows this in the text applies to what is found in the next (seventh) scene, and take into consideration that in the sixth scene Śiwa is portrayed with his hand in a gesture of speech, while two of the ten celestials are making an obeisance at the same time, then it can be safely assumed that in this scene an explanation or an order is being given to the generals of the divine army, who are listening to or receiving it with a *sēmbah*. The speech of the two rearmost persons in the lower row to the left of the tree may perhaps refer to a discussion among themselves of the words which the god is speaking. Finally, there is the possibility that the god has spoken and the generals of the divine army are asking leave, with an obeisance, to set out in pursuance of his orders.

Scene 7.

This scene in the painting completes the action from left to right. In view of the facial characteristics, colours and headdress or clothing of the ten persons who were portrayed in the previous scene in two rows above (or next to) each other to the left of the tree, we can establish that the same ten are present again in the seventh scene, as well as the *parēkan* (male servants) Twalen and Mṛdah. We do not, however, see Śīwa and the gatekeepers here, but instead a winged demonic creature moving along at the head of the procession, with spurs but possessing a human body. Furthermore, the ten men and the *parēkan* in this instance bear weapons, as do the figures who are walking behind the prominent celestials — these are the soldiers of the army. The heads of two other followers can be seen above the *parēkan*. A distinctive difference in the depiction of the entourage is that no earth-lines, rock-motifs or stone floor are shown under the people walking one behind the other. They are replaced here by stylized cloud-motifs in a horizontal position. The army of the gods is marching by in the air. On the right the scene is closed by the customary rock-motifs with their triangles of which some are pointing to the right.

The similarity between the persons concerned in this scene and those found in the previous one can be used for finding passages in the poem by means of which what is portrayed here can be further explained. Ten leaders are mentioned in 13, 3ab and 14, 1bc. Seeing that the number agrees with the figures in question on the cloth, there exists the possibility that the painter did actually follow a version of the story contained in our text in the depiction of this episode. The passages from the text which should be consulted in this connection begin where we left the *kakawin* in the previous scene. The Gaṇas present in audience quickly prepare for the expedition. In 12, 3b we are informed that they summon their troops (*watēknya*). The latter appear on the square (*lēbuh*) amid the thunder of drums (*kēṇḍaṇ*) and gongs (*gon*). The standards (*dhwaja*) are raised. Canto 12, 3d tells of the splendid jewelled chariot (*maṇipuṣpakârja*) which was present there, followed (*dinulur*) by the whole army with its weapons (*saṇ watēk sāyudha*). All the forces (*bala kabeh*) advance in order to carry out the commands of the god (*hyaṇ*) Īśwara (13, 1a).

They fill the heavens on their journey (*masalēsēk in nabhastala lakunya*, 13, 1b). The flags (*layu-layu*) flash and flutter in the wind (13, 1c). It is as if the end of the world is at hand, their progress through

the sky (*nabhastala*, 13, 1d) thunders so. In countless numbers the Gaṇas shout in the heavens (*in gagana*, 13, 2a). The place where they are travelling is also called air or space (*digantara*, 13, 1b) in an earlier line.

Then the generals of the heavenly army are named in order. Sa Nandana acts as head of the procession (*pinaka panēṇḍas in laku sa Nandana*, 13, 3a), experienced and steadfast on the battlefield. Behind him (*ri wuri nira*) comes Ūrdhwakeśa, followed (*madulur*) by Gaṇaratha as well as Puṣpadanta (13, 3b). They are all heroes (*sūra*) in the strife (13, 3c). Their army (*bala nira*) seems to consist of a hundred million men, divided into various regiments (*rin sajuru-sajuru*, 13, 3d).

Canto 14, 1a mentions further that there are others apart from them (*itara sakē sira*), also seasoned in battle, with insight (*wiweka*) and knowledge (*niti*) of the way to act (*ulah*). These are Piṅgalākṣa and Mahodara, together with Wīrabhadra (14, 1b), likewise (*nuni-uni*) Somawarṇa with Reṇukarṇa and Prakarṣa besides (*manirin*, 14, 1c). These were made generals (actually "elders": *tinuha-tuha*) over all the Gaṇa troops (*in watēk gaṇa kabeh*). They had often won themselves renown on the field of battle (*rin pabharatan*, 14, 1d).

It is said of all the Gaṇas (14, 2a) that they look especially fine, with their brightly shining ornaments (*sabhūṣaṇābhra kumēñar*). The adornment (*bhūṣaṇa*) of these, the best among the divine warriors, is extraordinarily fine (14, 2b). The sun went pale and closed his eyes at seeing the glow (*teja*) of the multitude of crown-jewels (*makutaratnasanghya*) as they glittered (14, 2c). The world would certainly have become dark if it had not been lit by their ornaments (14, 2d). Together they went forth in the heavens (*lanit*) with their troops (*bala*) amid a terrible tumult (14, 3a). It seemed as if the whole world would collapse, shuddering at the loud roar of the army (14, 3b). The cymbals, drums and kettledrums (*gubar*, *paḍahi*, *bheri*) sounded loudly; the conches (*śaṅka*) which were being blown caused a great din (14, 3c). On top of this came also the voices of the innumerable soldiers outdoing each other's shouts (14, 3d).

After having reiterated in 14, 4a that they made a mighty noise during their journey through the sky (*gaganamārga*), which they filled, the poet turns immediately to another subject. He will now tell of the god Dharma (*bhaṭāra Dharma*), who was despatching all his excellent troops (*mañutus balādhika kabehnya*), after having summoned them (14, 4b).

What is said here of the army of the demons and of their Lord is not depicted in our seventh scene but only in the eighth. On the cloth

the painter has left out the musical instruments, standards and flags. He used the order of the names of the divine generals as mentioned in the poem for the order in which the heroes (each with a follower behind or next to him) are placed behind each other in the painting, in full dress and each with his own weapon. If this is correct this scene shows us one behind the other the heavenly chariot, represented as a demonic bird (Bal. *wilmana*), the *parēkan* and two followers, as well as Nandana, Ūrdhwakeśa, Gaṇaratha, Puṣpadanta, Piṅgalākṣa, Mahodara, Wīrabhadra, Somawarṇa, Reṇukarṇa and Prakarṣa, each, as pointed out, with a representative of their *bala* on their left, behind or next to them.

On this basis, and aided by the manner in which the painter represented the individual leaders in this seventh scene, we turn our attention once more to the two rows of heavenly beings who are paying homage to Śiwa to the left of the tree. We then find the same ten *tuha-tuha* of the heavenly army, although in a somewhat different order. From right to left we see, above, Nandana, Piṅgalākṣa, Gaṇaratha, Puṣpadanta and Ūrdhwakeśa and, below, Mahodara, Wīrabhadra, Somawarṇa, Reṇukarṇa and Prakarṣa.

In the seventh scene weapons are displayed. Thus Twalen has a kind of pike with a large blade and two vertical side-pieces. Such a weapon appears to belong to him in the Javanese and Balinese *wayan kulit*. This *parēkan* is found with a similar, though somewhat differently shaped blade, on a Sudamala relief on Caṇḍi Sukuh, on Mt. Lawu in Central Java. According to a tradition recorded by Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, the pike is called *ron ḍaḍap*³ after the blade, which, however, in this case has no side-pieces. According to the terminology of the Balinese *wayan kulit*, in Twalen's weapon we are dealing with an arrow (*panah*), which sometimes has a fairly long shaft for this sort of weapon.

In his right hand Mṛdah is holding a stabbing weapon in a horizontal position. In this instance we could speak of a kris. He is holding in front of his chest a red shield with, as it seems, a curved surface and on the upper side a peak which is turned back and bent around, and in which two short, yellow horizontal points are fixed. This kind of shield also belongs to the latter *parēkan*. In Balinese it is called *ḍaḍap* in the Baris dance named after it.⁴ In Nandana's case we see a blue arrow in the right hand and a coloured bow held in front of his chest in his left hand. Mahodara's arrow is likewise blue and his bow is coloured.

³ Jasper and Pirngadie, 1930, Vol. V, pl. 6, 5.

⁴ See de Zoete and Spiess, 1938, pp. 59-60.

We also find coloured bows with Gaṇaratha, Somawarṇa and Prakarṣa, in this case with accompanying arrows in red. Ūrdhwakeśa's weapon would undoubtedly remind a connoisseur of the Javanese *wayaṅ* of Bhīma's club, which does not, however, always have the trident on top which is seen here. In association with this Pāṇḍawa hero the weapon is called in Java *gada rujakpolo* or *alugora*.⁵ The shaft consists of decorated circles or ovals linked together by intervals and becoming larger toward the top. These (circles) are derived from balls which appear in Java on stone clubs in reliefs and with images. They are the same shapes as one sees between the points of *bajra*. In Ūrdhwakeśa's case an ordinary shaft is to be seen at the lower end of this weapon. The Balinese *wayaṅ kulit* tradition, where leather clubs of this kind still occur, speaks of a *daṇḍa*. In the same tradition a *daṇḍa* can, however, be differently shaped with regard to the piece below the tip. This piece is very narrow at the lower end and widens out toward the top. We saw a *daṇḍa* of this type at the audience of Śiwa in Mahākāla's hand, and the other variant in Nandīśwara's. The *daṇḍa* without balls was borne by Puṣpadanta in our seventh scene. In order not to confuse the reader we shall continue to call these objects by their Balinese names. The matter is more complicated than has been described here, for on Balinese cloths, in accordance with old traditions and literature, Bhīma carries a *gada*, which according to the *wayaṅ* forms mentioned looks like a variation of the *daṇḍa*. The weapons which in this scene are being carried by Piṅgalākṣa, Wīrabhadra and Reṇukarṇa are according to the terminology of the Balinese *wayaṅ kulit* called *khadga*. These are objects whereby the hand holds a shaft between knives or krisses pointing in opposite directions. In the Javanese *wayaṅ kulit* there is sometimes mention of a *candrasa*, *lipuṅ* or *limpuṅ* with reference to a shape corresponding with this. The term *lipuṅ* also occurs in our poem. Besides stabbing on both sides with the two knives or krisses, one can, according to the tradition of Balinese painting, also throw it. The weapon can be handled by celestial beings or important demons. Excepting the follower behind Nandana (who bears a *daṇḍa* with round centre-pieces) and the one behind Piṅgalākṣa (where we see a weapon which according to the Balinese *wayaṅ* tradition is called *bajra*, but does not display the round shapes of a usual *bajra*) all their colleagues in this scene have a kris, some of which are coloured black.

⁵ Kats, 1923, pl. A I, 9 and B III, 6; also Hardjowirogo, 1952, p. 147.

Both in the poem and on the cloth contending parties now and then exchange weapons. This will be seen from what follows later. Furthermore we are of the opinion that the painter has in certain scenes not always depicted the kind of weapons which according to the poet pertain to these scenes in particular. Some weapons, which we shall soon see demons using, do not occur with the heavenly beings in this scene. In general it can be remarked further that not all the kinds of weapons which are mentioned in the *kakawin* can be seen in our painting.

Because the kinds of headdress occurring in this scene have been of great importance for our identification, we should in a summary follow the Balinese *wayan kulit* terminology. In the case of the followers we see a line of black hair (*pusuñ*) which follows the contour of the head; around the forehead there is a diadem (*sěkar taji*) with points in different colours with vertical stripes, placed above a lower rim mostly set with a jewel, which the painter intended to be gold (it is the Javanese *jamañ*). With this is worn an ear-ring (*tělindik*) and around the ear a golden ornament with coloured ribbons (together called *ron-ron*).

Nandana, Gaṇaratha, Wirabhadra and Somawarṇa have a headdress in which, apart from the diadem and so forth mentioned above, a *gěluñ* can be seen. The term *gěluñan* can also refer to headdress, diadem and ear-ornamentation together. The type of hair-arrangement intended here is called in Java *supit urañ*, with a golden *garuḍa muñkur*, which is called *karañ gowak* in the Balinese *wayan* tradition. Puṣpadanta and Ūrdhwakeśa have a red cap covering the rear of their chignon, as well as the diadem and jewels pertaining to it. Piṅgalākṣa and Mahodara are wearing, apart from the *sěkar taji*, etc., a kind of *gěluñ* which, we believe, is called *kělin*. Reṇukarṇa and Prakarṣa, walking at the end of the procession, display besides the *sěkar taji* and so on a tuft of hair (*pusuñ*) above the forehead as well as locks hanging over the shoulders. These indicate a fiery nature, as do the shapes of the eyes of Ūrdhwakeśa, Piṅgalākṣa, Mahodara and the pair already mentioned above in connection with their locks of hair, Reṇukarṇa and Prakarṣa. It is striking that Somawarṇa and Gaṇaratha look exactly alike, a fact which makes their identification in Scene 10 uncertain. The abovementioned eye-form in which the upper eyelid is semicircular and which displays large pupils, to be clearly distinguished from the fish-shaped eyes of the other heavenly beings seen here, is elsewhere only encountered with two of the followers, namely the head in front of Nandana and the Gaṇa behind Gaṇaratha.

Without going into too much detail, let us say a little more about the Balinese *wayan kulit* tradition with reference to the clothing depicted in this, the previous and the scenes still to be discussed. This is approximately the same in the seventh scene in the case of the "generals" (apart from the red jacket or armour, *kawaca*, of Nandana) and the soldiers. As shoulder-guards they wear a so-called *sěsimpiñ* of different colours, with a gold point sticking up at the end, which is sometimes called *kěmbañ bahu*. The term for the gold neck-chain is *běbadonñ*. A narrow white cloth (*sělimpět*) wrapped around the chest has a gold *paněkkěs sělimpět*, placed horizontally, which belongs to the chest ornamentation. Bands on the upper arm may be called *gělañ lima*, bracelets *gělañ kana* and ankle-rings *gělañ batis*. A golden ornament which hangs from one shoulder over or along the *sělimpět*, downward over the lower garment, and then turns up again to end at the hip in a serpent's head bears the name *naga wañsul*. The lower garments mostly consist of the following items. A sash (*sabuk*) around the waist holds the lower garment (*kamben*) in place. From the sash there hangs in front a scarf (*bulět*) which ends in a rectangle and a swallow-tail (*kañcut*) further down. A scarf which turns up to the rear or hangs down from the same place has roughly the same shape. Over the *kamben* (which for convenience's sake we shall take as including that part of it which looks like a short trouser above the knee) there hangs from the hips a narrow, coloured piece of clothing which has a gold edge along the upper side, and which the *đalañ* calls *ampok-ampok*. We also meet most of these items of clothing and ornaments with the demonic bird, the heavenly chariot (Bal. *wilmana*). Twalen and Mṛdah have a golden helmet with a plume on their heads as we saw at Śiwa's audience. Their upper-arm bands are smaller, and the bracelets are not missing, although this is the case with the ankle and ear-rings. The *kain poleñ* in various colours which they both wear was already mentioned at their appearance below Śiwa's throne.

Armed with these data we can also describe with retrospective effect Śiwa's attire in an earlier scene. He is, however, the only one who wears a crown (*makuṭa*), with around it an aureole (*kurunñ*). His ear-ring deviates in form from that of the celestials and soldiers. In this case we see a small, red-coloured ball (a fruit) with golden ornamentation on the upper and lower sides.

The corresponding names of headdress, clothing and bodily ornament in ancient and modern Java and in India are, with a few exceptions, here omitted for brevity's sake. It is, after all, a Balinese cloth which

we are attempting to describe. The interested reader may investigate for himself the agreements and deviations with regard to the way in which the painter has depicted this episode from the story as we find it in our text.

Scene 8.

As we observed in passing in the description of the previous scene, what we find mentioned in the poem after 14, 4b was not depicted there. The following episode from the *kakawin* is found reproduced in what we shall call the eighth scene for convenience's sake, thereby, as was pointed out, considering the order of events in the story rather than the location of scenes on the cloth. Our Scene 8, to the extent that it has not been cut off, is to be found at the right-hand end of the cloth. From now on the story moves from right to left, to end opposite the close of the depiction of the procession of heavenly beings through the air in Scene 7.

In Scene 8 the painter has again portrayed an advancing procession. Judging from their faces and to some extent also because of the position of their arms and legs, we are here, however, dealing with demons, divided into leaders and soldiers. In front of the first demon general walk the two *parėkan* of the so-called "bad side", namely Dėlėm and, behind him, Sañut. The first of these two has his left leg raised and is leaning forward. In his right hand he is holding a kris pointing to the ground; in his raised left hand is a round shield with on the inner side, which is turned toward us so that the grip is visible, a golden edge and a red circle with stripes. According to the Balinese *wayaņ* *kulit* tradition a shield of such a shape is called *tameaņ* or *tamiaņ*. It belongs to this *parėkan*. There are also differently shaped round shields, such as the *presi* and *ėnda*, in use in Balinese Baris dances, but these are not intended here. The term *tameņ* is used in the *wayaņ* in Java for both round and oblong shields. Dėlėm is dressed similarly to Twalen, save for the loincloth which is drawn up high, and is here coloured red with gold decorative motifs. Sañut is only partially depicted. As far as can be seen, he is carrying on his right shoulder the handle of a weapon which is difficult to identify with certainty. As is known these *parėkan* are the Balinese representatives of the Javanese *panakawan* Togog and Sarahita.

Behind Sañut walks the first of the nine generals of the demons in this scene, each one with a companion behind or beside him. At the

extremity of the cloth one companion has been cut down the middle. Along the left-hand side of his face and neck we see what remains of a weapon which has likewise been cut off. If this is not his own *daṇḍa* (of a round form, with a trident at the upper end), this splendid club belongs to a general who is no longer visible. There is part of a left foot still to be seen at the break; this would then belong to the above general. If this supposition is correct, there are not nine but ten chief characters portrayed by the painter in the procession. We cannot establish whether there were still more. This ten would then form the counterpart of the same number of leaders in the army of the gods in Scene 7, whereby, if this is the case, a harmony in the composition would have been achieved.

Before we go further into the appearance, clothing and weapons of the leaders and soldiers depicted here, the question may be asked whether in this case too the main figures can be identified from data in the text, as we were able to do with the generals in the army of the gods in the seventh scene. With the restrictions which were mentioned with regard to the possibility that the painter did indeed follow our text or a Balinese version of it, one could perhaps answer this question in the affirmative, as in our text ten names of leaders of the demons are listed.

For the identification of the nine or ten *tuha-tuha*, *pramukha* or *juru* of the demons (these terms occur in the text for commanders), let us now discuss some relevant passages from the text.

In 14, 4b, as we observed at the conclusion of the preceding scene, *bhaṭāra* Dharma calls up all his excellent troops and sends them on their way. It is intended that they should seize Lubdhaka's soul (*Lubdhakātma* 14, 4c) and convey it to Yama's abode (*Yamapada*). The instruction is: "You will bind him" (*apusana*). The army of Yama (*watēk Yamabala*) makes an obeisance (*sēmbah*) before their lord and press the soldiery (*bala* 14, 5) to take along the tackle (*ṣamigraha*) to bind the villain. Thereupon they assemble in ranks (*ataramtam* 14, 5c) on the parade-ground (*lēbuh agun*), all of them wild (*paḍāgalak*). Each one bears his own weapon (*śara*). There is a general desire to torment the soul of the *niṣāda* in every possible way. At their departure they appear from their houses (*grēha* 15, 1a), reckless and shouting together. They have a terrifying appearance (*krūrākāra* 15, 1b), and are brandishing their sharp, short lances (*tomara*, *ibid.*), throwing-knives (*lipuñ*, see above) and swords (*kaṇḍa*). Their ornaments (*bhūṣaṇa* 15, 1c) look splendid. Their faces (*waktra*, *ibid.*) are like those of lions (*siṇha*).

Their tusks are as if of iron (*daṇṣṭrānyāmēsi* 15, 1d), and when they grind together produce fire.

The first to set out is *sañ* Caṇḍa, as 15, 2a tells us, with the frightful *sañ* Pracāṇḍa (*sañ Pracāṇḍādbhuta*). In 15, 2b-c the following are mentioned in succession: Kāla and Parameṣṭimṛtyu, as well as (*nuniweh*) Nīla, with Ugrakarṇa at his side (*iiriñ*), and Citrodumbara, Ghorawikrama (and the) very frightful Mahācaṇḍa and Antaka (*Mahācaṇḍ-āntakātyadbhuta*).

All those who come forth from Yama's abode look fine with their shining ornaments (*abhrābhūṣaṇānindita* 15, 2). Their troops (*wadwanya*) are mighty heroes in battle; their numbers practically amount to a hundred million (15, 3a). They come behind (their commanders) in ranks; their loud shrieking inspires fear (15, 3b). Each one bears his own weapon (*sañjata*): short lances (*kantar*) and choppers (*baḍama*), with very sharp edges (*atitkṣṇa* 15, 3c). There is a thundering in the air (*ghūrṇitēn ambara*) like that of the sea wanting to flood the land (15, 3d). Without delaying they hurry onward till they reach their destination (*paran* 15, 4a). There they find the miserable *niṣāda*, who does not know whither he should betake himself (*ñkā-n paṅguh kētikañ niṣāda kasihañ tan urin paranyōnsirēn* 15, 4b).

What we read in the above line has not been portrayed in Scene 8; this is an introduction to what will be seen in Scene 9. The passages which were indicated above have been shown in summary by the painter in the eighth episode of the story on the cloth. What strikes us immediately here is that no clouds have been depicted under the demons' feet, as was the case with the procession of the gods in the preceding scene, but earth-lines, on or beside which tufts of grass with red tips have been placed here and there. In any case this indicates a journey over a road, while — in view of what occurs in 15, 3d — we must leave the matter undecided as to whether that road goes through the air (*ambara*) or not. We shall also have to concern ourselves with such a question as this in the following scene.

The clothing of the demon generals depicted in the eighth scene is similar to that of the *gaṇapramukha* in the seventh scene. The faces, however, now display a clearly demonic character. A separate horizontal line has been placed on the underside of the lower eyelid. Next to the eye, the heads have a horn on the cheek. Two short horns can be seen above the curved lines over the nose. The demonic men display great, red lips, teeth and tusks. A sect mark can be seen on the leaders' foreheads, but not on those of their troops. If we may pass on to an

identification of the main figures in the eighth scene — as in the seventh — on the basis of the poem, we see (after the *parëkan* at the front of this procession) from left to right: *San* Caṇḍa, the terrible Pracaṇḍa, and then Kāla, Parameṣṭimṛtyu, Nīla, Ugrakarṇa, Citro-dumbara, Ghorawikrama and Mahācaṇḍa.

If the above is correct, then Pracaṇḍa, Kāla, Parameṣṭimṛtyu, Ugrakarṇa, Ghorawikrama and the leader following him, Mahācaṇḍa, have long hair flowing over their shoulders. Caṇḍa, Nīla and Citro-dumbara do not have such locks over their shoulders; their thick mop of hair sprouts forth in spikes. Pracaṇḍa has a large *karaṇ gowak* (Jav. *garuḍa munḱur*) behind the semicircle of hair on the skull. In Bali we noted the term *caṇḍi rēbah* for this type of coiffure.

The clothing of the demon troops is different from that of their fellows in the army of the gods. The attire of the *Yamabala* (also called *Kiṅkara* or *Kiṅkarabala*) consists of a *sēlimpēt* wrapped around the neck and crosswise over the chest. Some display, in smaller form, the type of earring which is also worn by the gods and the leaders of the demons; others wear a kind of *kuṇḍala* design, as does Saṇut, while Dēlēm's ear-ornament looks like what is called in Java a *wadēran*. The demon soldiers possess arm-rings and bracelets in black and white and, in contrast to the humbler warriors of the army of the gods, wear no ankle-rings. Neither are they wearing the decorated head-bands (*sēkar taji*) which the Gaṇas have, but only a thick tuft of hair to right and left on their bald scalps. The lower garments of the *Yamabala* are simpler than those of their leaders: a red belt holds up a *kamben* formed into a trouser above the knee with a *bulēt* pulled up to the knees below the body but displaying no swallow-tail tip (*kañcut*).

With regard to the weapons, we can say by way of summary that, according to the terminology in use in the Balinese *wayaṅ kulit*, Caṇḍa and Ghorawikrama are carrying a *daṇḍa* with trident, while Citro-dumbara has in his hand a weapon with a blunt point and trident — it is uncertain whether such should be called a *daṇḍa* or a *gada*. Pracaṇḍa, Parameṣṭimṛtyu, Nīla and Mahācaṇḍa are holding a *khadga* which, as we saw in the previous scene, corresponds to what is called in Java (and in our text as well) a *lipuṇ* (with the variant *candrasa* in the Javanese *wayaṅ kulit*). Ugrakarṇa is brandishing above his head a weapon which according to the Balinese term is a sword, *kaṇḍa*, a word which is also used in the *kakawin*. Kāla has in his right hand a blue arrow and in the left a coloured bow. It is also worth mentioning that he is the only one in the procession who is looking around. A *kaṇḍa*

is also carried by the followers of Caṇḍa (in this case together with a shield) and of Kāla, who, in contrast to other leaders, has two men behind him. Parameṣṭimṛtyu's servant has a club (*gada*) without trident, while Nīla's companion has the club with trident (*kaṇḍa* with *triśūla*, or a *gada*). Citroḍumbara's soldier is waving an ordinary *gada* above his head, which has eyes that indicate a great age or feminine nature — the one example in this procession. We have already pointed to the portion of the *danḍa* with balls and trident which is to be found near the face of the last follower on the cloth (at the extreme right on the edge) in connection with the question whether this weapon belongs to him or the tenth (cut off) demon general. Such a *danḍa* is not borne by any of the warriors in this procession.

The two *parēkan*, at the head of the procession, are not mentioned in the poem.

Scene 9.

A tree has been put in the middle of this scene above three *karaṇ bintulu* motifs, as well as a small *paṇḍan puḍak* on the left-hand side. Earth motifs have been painted below, with above them bundles of coloured grass. Figures are standing on both sides of the tree; we can identify the most important of them on the basis of data from earlier scenes. On the right we meet a demon commander, Pracaṇḍa, with in his left hand the double knife (*khadga*) which he also bore in the procession in the eighth scene. His right upper arm is raised, with the hand in the gesture of speaking. In front of him one sees the *parēkan* Dēlēm, with his head tilted back somewhat and his gaze directed upward toward Pracaṇḍa's adversary. His hands too are in a position which indicates speech. Behind Pracaṇḍa two followers of the demons are to be found, of whom the foremost is only partially visible; he is raising his right hand. The club which apparently belongs to him, to some extent visible behind his left shoulder, has in that section four blunt projections on the front and six on the rear side, painted in the same yellow colour as the *gada* itself. The demon behind him is holding in his left hand a *gada* in black and white; the projecting index finger of his right hand is pointing in the direction in which both followers are looking. Their gaze is directed toward the face of a man lying flat on his back. This man is covered only by a loin-cloth, and a red flower over his ear is the only personal adornment. He is holding his arms tightly against the body, with a hand raised a little with fingers straight.

The supine figure is forced to adopt this position as there are fetters, ropes or cords wound around his upper arms, chest, armpits, belly, wrists, thighs, calves and ankles. The bound man is looking backward, with his head bent back somewhat, in an upward direction. The position of the iris in his pupils also indicates this, as it is placed under the upper eyelid. He is apparently trying to look up toward the leader of the troops of the gods standing behind him to the left of the tree, whom we can now, thanks to our investigation into the names of the *gana-pramukha* in the celestial procession, identify as Mahodara. At Śiwa's audience he was making an obeisance before the god, squatting in front in the lower row. The painter placed him sixth in the procession, behind Piṅgalākṣa. Mahodara's right hand is raised in front of his chest in a gesture which indicates speech. He is addressing Praçaṇḍa. His left arm is stretched downward, with the hand clenched. His bow and arrow which he was carrying in the procession have been omitted here. The two *parēkan* of the "good side" can also be recognized immediately. They are standing behind Mahodara. Below we see Mṛdah, with his right hand held out horizontally in front of his chest and two fingers extended, and above Twalen, who is partially visible, with his left hand raised. Their faces are turned toward Praçaṇḍa. With their gestures they are supporting the words which their *tuha-tuha* is addressing to his adversary. The bodies of these two figures are partially obscured by the feathers of the demonic bird standing behind them (whose acquaintance we have already made) drawn up at the head of the celestial procession. This is the chariot of the gods (*maṇipuṣpakārja*; *wimāna*; *puṣpaka*) which, as was mentioned, is called *wilmana* in Bali.

If we consult the text available to us for purposes of comparison for this ninth scene as well, it appears that we are concerned with a scene where various events have been combined by the painter. Canto 15, 5a mentions the soul of the hunter which has been reached by the demon army (*Kiṅkarabala*) on its wanderings through the sky. From 15, 5b onward he is attacked from various sides, and denounced as a villain. He has to look at the *daṇḍa* (on the cloth more probably a *gada*) in the hand of a demon who is going to strike him with it. The text speaks many times of Lubdhaka's being bound by the demons: 15, 6a *manalyani*; 15, 6c *mahābhandana* — at which the soul, after first having knelt, falls down. Furthermore in 16, 1c and 17, 3b he is *binē-bēdan matēguh*, and in 18, 1a *tinalyan atēguh* — he is bound more and more tightly. In 18, 1d it is stated that he will not escape from the *tali* (bonds).

Might it be possible that the painter was also inspired by a repeated mention of this being bound in one or other version of our text to portray the bonds which restrain Lubdhaka's frame at various points? It is the demons who, according to our text, first reach the soul of the hunter. The army of the gods reaches him in 19, 1b, accompanied by the heavenly chariot in which they wish to convey Lubdhaka homeward (19, 1c). They halt when they see that the soul has been bound and cannot move (19, 1d). In the poem (19, 2a) Mahodara is introduced immediately after that with a speech which is first addressed to the demon army in its entirety (*ri sakweh niñ watēk Kiñkara*). He asks what evil the hunter has committed to be bound in such a way. According to Mahodara the punishment is unjustified, as Lubdhaka's merit is great as a result of his vow (*brata*). Because of this, his conduct is unequalled according to the whole world. He, Mahodara, has come at *hyañ* Īśwara's behest to seek the soul. In this connection the presence of the divine chariot is indicated in 19, 3c. The order given by this divine general to untie the ropes follows in 19, 3d. He has then finished speaking, and Pracāṇḍa, the terrible, gives a reply in 19, 4a. He observes that what Mahodara has asserted is untruthful, for the hunter's conduct, as far as he knows, has never been good. Hence he will not allow Lubdhaka's soul to escape from the cauldron of hell with the cow's head (*tāmbra gohwaktra*, 19, 4d). Pracāṇḍa then addresses himself to his troops and commands them to put Lubdhaka in a cage (*pañjara*), in order to bring him straight to Yama's abode (*Yamaṇḍa*). There the soul will have to join the contents of the hellish pot (*kawah*) and suffer there as fruit of the hunter's evil conduct. Thus the excellent Pracāṇḍa (*sañ prawara Pracāṇḍa*) speaks to his army (*bala*) in 19, 6a. In the following line the army sets out to seize the *niśāda* and to take him to their own home (*swagrha*). But at that moment the army of the god Śaṅkara (*bala sañ hyañ Śaṅkara*) attempts to take possession of the soul, at which (in 19, 6d) arms are taken up.

What is narrated in the text after 19, 4d has not been portrayed by the painter in Scene 9, as in this scene Pracāṇḍa is addressing Mahodara and (finally) not yet his own troops. The text makes no mention in these passages, either, of the presence of the *parīkan*, on one side or the other. The *wayaṇ* tradition obliged the painter to depict them. It appears worthwhile to consider the place where the action occurs in this scene according to the artist. One can read in the poem that at this moment Lubdhaka finds himself in the air or heavens (*gagaṇa* 17, 2b). Already in 16, 1b the hunter had addressed his relatives who at that

moment were already far away, and whose attention Lubdhaka draws to his miserable fate while he sojourns in the air (*ambara*), where he can be seen by no one (17, 1b). In Scene 5 the painter has also caused the soul of the *niṣāda* to make his way sorrowing through the clouds, the depiction of which is missing on the lower side of Scene 9 — as has been pointed out, earth-lines are placed under all the figures. At the same time we recall here the presence of the tree, the *puḍak* bush, the *karañ* motifs and the coloured tufts of grass. We may observe here that when the painter placed a tree between two conversing figures he was simply making use of a cliché employed in his art. The ground, which seems to indicate a spot on earth, would necessarily have to connect with the tree. It is uncertain, however, whether a spot in the world of men is actually intended. One could, for instance, imagine that the painter arrived at the depiction of the tree, earth-motifs, and so on by having literally translated into visible forms several terms which are used in the relevant literature for places where the soul finds itself on a journey to heaven or to hell. Such terms are *mārga*, *dalan*, *tēgal*, *bhūmi*, etc. Without attempting completeness in this, in order to define more precisely the place where Lubdhaka's soul is lying bound as the painter intended it, one would have to recall that he is already high in the sky, far from earthly family. The soul is resting for a moment. He is sad and does not know in which direction to continue his journey. This description would perhaps fit best with the idea of a place in the midst of the so-called *tēgal windu*. Sometimes there is also mention of a building located in this place, called *panuñan*, *bale panuñanan*, *bale pañarip-arip*, etc. We are not, of course, overlooking other terms in this connection, such as *bañjara sari*, *pamēgat sari*, *bhañawan*, *tēgal panansaran* and so on, no more than words such as *pitērbhawana*, *catuspatha*, etc. As far as we have investigated the context in which terms such as these occur, the preliminary conclusion might be justified that such a place as the *tēgal windu* is perhaps intended here. Unfortunately, certainty can no longer be attained. But as a final remark let us mention that also on Old Javanese reliefs and those from the art of the Khmers the ground of the region in which souls proceed is often depicted as a road on which people walk. Sometimes, however, as in our Scene 5, a group of clouds is in fact shown in ancient Java on the journey of the soul which has left the body (*awak*, *kuruñ*).

It may have been a stylistic element from older artistic traditions which was applied here — perhaps, too, without the painter's having thought of any particular passage of the text.

Scene 10.

In this scene we see eight episodes from the battle between the Gaṇas and Kiṅkaras. These separate scenes merge into one another in the painting without any interruption in the form of conclusion or commencement motifs (*karaṇ*). For the convenience of the reader we shall follow the description of each of these eight separate battle scenes immediately with their respective explanations, as far as we can manage this. Also because of the way in which in the poem episodes of the story are related one after another, in the same order as they are depicted in the painting, we can begin here by mentioning that the eight individual scenes must in general be read from right to left. We shall indicate them with the letters (a) to (h).

(a) Five demon soldiers in two ranks of two and three men respectively are being attacked by the Gaṇas, represented here by one divine warrior who is stabbing in the chest the uppermost demon in the first rank with a kris in his right hand and is taking him by the hair with his left hand. This demon is raising a *gada*, held pointing backwards, over his head. The man below him, who displays a bleeding wound in the chest and has fallen over backwards, is doing likewise. The two persons behind the previous pair, looking around like their fellows, are taking flight unarmed. Below these two Kiṅkaras the fifth demon has fallen forward on the ground. He is trying to save his skin by crawling away. He also has no weapon. It is clear that in this scene the demons are on the losing side.

In connection with what was seen in Scene 9, the matter apparently depicted in (a) can be read in the poem in 19, 6a-d. Pracaṇḍa has ordered his troops to take away Lubdhaka's soul. In a massive attack the *bala* of *saṁ hyaṇ* Śaṅkara, however, prepare in turn to seize the hunter. They attack impetuously with their splendid weapons (*warāstra*), shouting loudly together.

On account of what (b) shows, the events mentioned above must have been depicted by the painter here. He has limited the number of attacking divine soldiers to one.

(b) Three soldiers of the gods placed on the left are attempting to defend themselves against three *Kiṅkarabala* who are attacking from the right. The rearmost demon has a sword (*kaṇḍa*) at the ready. He is the only Kiṅkara on the cloth to display spots on his body, and is

apparently intending to strike with his weapon the red *ḍaḍap* shield of the divine soldier standing in front of him. The upper side of this shield has meanwhile been bitten through by a second demon, who is waving a *gada* over his head. But the latter has already incurred a wound in his neck, inflicted on him (seemingly with a kris) by a second divine warrior who is partially visible above the first. The third Gaṇa has fallen over backwards. He is being bitten on the left cheek by the third Kiṅkara who is bending forward and threatening him with a weapon (not depicted). In the meantime he thrusts, during his fall, a kris into the opponent's chest. Despite the demon's injuries they are here on the attack and the Gaṇas have been forced onto the defensive.

What the painter has perhaps depicted here follows in the poem directly on what we shall see in (c), where the carrying off of Lubdhaka's soul is shown. The *bala* of Yama is angry about this. According to the poem they advance with lances (*kantar*) and cleavers (*baḍama*), in armour, all heavily armed and yelling in the heavens (*riṅ gagaṇāntarāla*), which are completely filled by them. For this compare 19, 6, 7 and 8a-b. 19, 8c-d tells of the hand-to-hand fighting of gods and demons, where mention is also made of the soldiers' throwing discusses (*cakra*) and defending themselves against the blow of a *gada* (*dinaṇḍēn gadā*). 19, 8d mentions the dull thuds of the shields (*papan*) when they are hit by a *daṇḍa* and smashed to splinters. In 19, 9a the battle is continued, while the following line describes the defeat of the Gaṇas, their being killed and wounded.

Up to this point we would like to find in (b) this fight, as mentioned in the poem. The reader will observe for himself what the painter has and has not depicted. The distinctive feature for us here was the shield in the painting, although there it is rather of the *ḍaḍap* type than in the form of the *papan* (which apparently must have indicated something other than a shield with curved upper end).

The striking thing in (a) and (b) is the ground, which continues in the same way from (c) to (h) as well. It is composed of earth-motifs with the usual coloured grass-shoots. We see no clouds — which one might be inclined to encounter here, seeing that 19, 7d says that the Kiṅkaras are fighting in the sky.

(c) The anger of the Kiṅkaras in (b) was caused, according to the poem as we observed, by the fact that the soldiers of the gods had succeeded in seizing the soul and carrying it off. The latter is to be seen in this section of the tenth scene. The demonic bird has just taken

off to the left. He is carrying on his back the soul of the hunter, whose left calf and right heel are being held by the splendid, jewelled chariot of the gods, represented as the Balinese *wilmana*. The bird and the soul are looking back toward the place where, as is seen in (b), the demons and gods are fighting. It is as though in the painting the latter are trying to cover the retreat of the divine vehicle against the advancing demons who want to obstruct the flight. A dead demon soldier lying on his back under the *wilmana* must have been taking part in the battle which is to be seen in (d).

(d) This, the preceding and the following scene are so arranged that in their succession they can be compared with what the *dalan* in the *wayan kulit* shows in fighting scenes, where in quick tempo now the good and now the evil side have the upper hand or are defeated. In this instance a victory for the gods' army is again represented.

For the first time a *gaṇapramukha*, whom we can identify as Puṣpadanta judging from his appearance, is here in the tenth scene locked in combat with a leader of the demon army who, in view of his hair and the weapon he is using would have to be Nila according to the data concerning the demons in the procession. Puṣpadanta has inflicted a fatal wound on his opponent's forehead, using a *daṇḍa* with a trident at the tip, while the opponent who has fallen over backwards tries to parry the blow with a *khaḍga*. Behind the demon leader we see two Kīṅkara soldiers, wounded in the neck, both giving way. The lower of these two has behind his head a short knife (partly hidden by the feathers of the *wimāna* in (c)), while his companion, likewise partly covered by the divine chariot, is still standing upright. A soldier of the gods has seized him by the hair with the left hand and inflicted the wound with the right, while the demon tries to defend himself with a short knife, perhaps intended as a *baḍama*. Between the two combatant leaders a soldier of the gods is engaged in playing his part in the fight behind or beside his master, with the point of a kris projecting behind the head of the latter. The red colour on his belly is caused by the blood rushing from the forehead of the wounded demon general.

If this general does in fact represent Nila, considering his hair in association with his weapon, then the painter has not in this section of the battle followed the data of the poem with regard to the identity of the demon, as in the text Nila is nowhere wounded on the head by Puṣpadanta. This is the case, however, with another opponent of this Gaṇa leader, namely Ugrakarṇa. The latter, however, has a different

hair-arrangement (wavy locks hanging down his back) and a different weapon (a sword (*kaṇḍa*)) in the procession of demons. This is the first uncertainty in the interpretation of Scene 10. If one ignores these details, however, and may assume that the painter did not strive for uniformity in this respect, a passage from the poem can nevertheless be indicated where Puṣpadanta inflicts a head wound on an opponent. This would then be an illustration of 20, 2a-d, for after the preceding fighting mention is made there of a conflict between Puṣpadanta and the demon leader Ugrakarṇa, in which the divine general first tries to strike his opponent's neck with a terrible club (*gadâdbhuta*). The latter manages to evade the blow and then grasps his sharp *khaḍga* (a weapon which we see Puṣpadanta's enemy wielding in the painting). He is about to raise this weapon when he is unexpectedly attacked. His head is smashed; he falls down and dies (20, 3a) in the midst of the battlefield. In the following lines particulars are given of the flight and destruction of the Kinkara warriors, including (20, 3c) the fact that they are overwhelmed by the arrows of Puṣpadanta pursuing them. Apparently the latter has in this fight switched over to a different weapon. We see something similar elsewhere on the cloth. Hence one should perhaps not attach too much weight to the fact that Puṣpadanta is striking his adversary with a *daṇḍa*, whereas in the poem he uses a *gada* in the fight with Ugrakarṇa. Perhaps we have to conclude that a *daṇḍa* with trident can also be called a *gada* in Balinese terminology. The uncertainty in the above details remains, however. In Scene 10 Puṣpadanta does not appear after this during subsequent combats, although he does appear in the text.

(e) Here again a battle is being waged which according to the painter concludes favourably for the good side. In this instance we see a leader of the gods with a youthful appearance who is placed on the left and who has just shot an arrow at a *tuha-tuha* of the demons. The latter is falling backwards and as defence is raising a *khaḍga* behind his head, but remarkably enough has a wound in the chest which is not caused by an arrow but by a *daṇḍa* with round shapes and supplied with a trident. The weapon is half buried in the Kinkara leader's chest. In front of the general of the gods one of his soldiers is coming forward. He is stabbing a follower of the demon general in the chest with a kris; the Kinkara in question tries to ward the blow off with a knife raised behind his head. Behind their wounded leader are two other demon soldiers who are fleeing unarmed, looking back. In the painting the

upper one of the two is still upright, while the lower is already slumped forward a little. His head seems to be completely bald. The eyes of his fleeing companion are of a somewhat feminine nature.

If one wishes to identify this scene precisely with the aid of our text, considering that an episode in the story would have to be sought which follows what was illustrated in (d), then one again encounters problems which can only partially be solved.

Judging from the details of the procession of demons depicted by the painter (the names of the participants in which we thought we were able to establish on the basis of the order of the names in the poem), the fallen demon general who is wounded by a *daṇḍa* in the chest could again be Nīla, who was mentioned in (d), because of his hair and weapon. He looks like the adversary of Puṣpadanta in (d), in which case we have proposed the name Ugrakarṇa for the demon general struck there, with the necessary restriction mentioned above. If now in (e), according to the internal evidence of the cloth, we can suggest only Nīla as a name pertaining to that demon in an episode of the story which follows the preceding illustration in (d) on the cloth, then Nīla cannot in fact be intended in (d), as his head was already smashed there. The identification as Ugrakarṇa for the demon in (d) could, with the necessary reserves, be strengthened by this.

If one now looks in the poem for an archer who injures Nīla in the chest, then, having passed over many passages of the story, one finally comes across one who occurs in 24, 5a-d. Immediately preceding, a description is given of how a general of the gods, Wīrabhadra, driven back but in the meantime aided by Ūrdhwakeśa and Prakarṣa, was at that moment still holding a *konta* (short lance), while Nīla did not know what to do and was on the verge of giving up. He braced himself, however, (24, 4d) and just at the instant that he was being forced to withdraw he was suddenly hit by a sharp arrow (*warāstra niśita*), without his seeing the excellent arrow (*śarawara*) coming. It struck him in the chest, and buried itself there. The death of this demon general is mentioned at the beginning of the following canto (25, 1a). His followers take flight and lay down their arms; the demons' casualties run into hundreds. With regard to Nīla everything that the painter depicted agrees with what is said in the poem of this episode — with the exception of the weapon, which according to the *kakawin* (and because of the bow of the opponent) ought to be an arrow, but which as was pointed out is a *daṇḍa* with trident in the painting. Perhaps, though, a "miraculous" arrow could be intended here, seeing that in

Balinese painting arrows sometimes have a shaft the sides of which display a row of semi-circles, to which a trident is attached as point. But there is also something which does not agree with regard to Nila's opponent in the painting. According to the poem his name is Wirabhadra, whereas the painter has assigned him the facial characteristics and hair-arrangement of a divine general which on the basis of internal evidence concerning these generals from the procession, could only be those of Somawarṇa and Gaṇaratha, who there look as alike as two peas. The difference in appearance between Wirabhadra on the one hand and this pair on the other is for the rest minimal. Both look young and have a *gēluṇ* as hair-arrangement, but Wirabhadra has a moustache, which we do not find with Somawarṇa and Gaṇaratha in the procession. We should also mention, however, that in the procession of the gods on the painting Wirabhadra has as weapon a *khaḍga* (= *lipuṇ*), whereas Somawarṇa and Gaṇaratha, as was said, are carrying a bow and arrow there. The general of the gods who has shot an arrow at the demon general Nīla also has no moustache. If we may overlook this difference, the identification would be certain, apart from the *daṇḍa* instead of an arrow in Nīla's chest. But then we still do not know whether, through a perhaps unconscious change of person, the painter was thinking of Somawarṇa or of Gaṇaratha who in the procession carry the same weapons, bow and arrow. In (f), however, it appears that Wirabhadra is in fact intended with the same youthful leader of the gods who was depicted with bow and arrow and without a moustache, in the light of passages from the poem which are comparable here. So let us in (e) adhere to a change of person made unconsciously by the painter with regard to the archer, or to a simple mistake on his part.

(f) Behind the divine leader Wirabhadra (as we shall call him) in (e) we see a general of the demons, thus far unknown, walking to the left. He holds in his left hand a bow in a more or less horizontal position, with the cord uppermost, while with his raised right hand he makes the gesture of speech. In front of him are two demon soldiers attacking. It is as if their commander, who was mentioned above and is wearing a yellow helmet with a black plume (headgear looking somewhat like that of the *parēkan* and of Kērtala in Balinese illustrations of the Pañji stories) is urging his followers on. The demon warrior placed above is holding a *kaṇḍa* at the ready. The lower one, who is partially obscured by the body of his lord and is standing somewhat to the rear of his companion, is thrusting with his right hand a *khaḍga* downward into

the chest of a Gaṇa who is fleeing and looking round and whom he is trying to seize by the clothing with his left hand. A second soldier of the gods, of whom only the head and neck can be seen, will apparently shortly be the object of the blow from the above *kaṇḍa* being brandished by the foremost Kīṅkara soldier. This second Gaṇa is also looking round and seems to be fleeing. The latter is also the case with a *gaṇapramukha* who during his flight looks backward, holding an arrow in his right hand which is extended downward, while his left hand holds a bow which has been painted in a slanting position with the cord turned upward. This divine leader is bleeding from a wound in the chest which an arrow has penetrated up to the end of the shaft, so that only the feathers are visible. Below the wounded commander of the divine soldiers a dead Gaṇa is lying on his back on the ground. He is being trampled as it were, also by the demon in (g). His presence is being completely ignored in the heat of battle.

This scene clearly refers to a phase in the fight at which the demons are scoring a victory over the retreating divine army. As was already observed above, we have until now not encountered this demon general, armed with bow and arrow, on the cloth. If one employs the poem, namely 25, 1-7d, for the identification of this scene, this figure must be Antaka, who is perhaps the one who, for the most part cut off, was behind the last leader of the demons in the procession, where only part of a weapon and a foot were to be seen.

We read that Antaka sees with regret his army fleeing, pursued by the soldiers of the gods, after the death of Nīla (portrayed in (e)). He then calls the yielding demon troops back and urges them to attack the Gaṇas again with excellent weapons (*warāyudha*) and arrows (*śara*). This is what happens. The divine soldiers fall on the ground, mown down by great swords (*mahākaṇḍaga*). Antaka, furious over the death of Nīla, then himself also goes to the attack and takes his weapon in his hand. It is simultaneously a stabbing and a throwing weapon — on both sides of the short handle a knife is attached (the term in the poem is *lipuṇ bhīṣaṇa*, frightful *lipuṇ*; this is the same weapon as the Balinese *dalan* calls *khadga*). Antaka aims this weapon at the chest of Wirabhadra (who killed Nīla); it wounds him in the chest and the divine general falls. He is aided by his companions, however. He stands up again but is forced to yield because of the pain caused by the wound.

Wirabhadra's being wounded by Antaka's *lipuṇ bhīṣaṇa* is mentioned in the poem in 25, 6d. As we have seen from the description of this scene, Antaka's weapon was not represented by the painter as a *lipuṇ*

(or *khaḍga*) but as an arrow, for it is an arrow which in the painting has wounded Wirabhadra in the chest as he runs away. The painter has here assigned the wounded leader the same appearance as the person who in (e) according to the poem must be Wirabhadra (in the shape of Somawarṇa or Gaṇaratha). The soldier of the gods who has been killed in the painting might perhaps suggest what can be read in the poem in 25, 4d. The army has been scattered, the men have been killed by the great swords and have fallen to the ground.

(g) This scene occupies relatively little space in the painting. In the centre a blazing fire is to be seen, the red flames of which surround the heads of three demon soldiers. The depiction of their eyes, in which the whites are visible under the pupils, indicates that they are already dead and their bodies are being consumed by the fire. A representation such as this, in which now members of the good, and now members of the bad side have to undergo death by incineration, is a cliché in the iconography of Balinese painting. One can say the same of what the painter has depicted above the flames, namely vertical blue lines indicating falling rain, which will presently extinguish the fire. Apart from the normal cloud-lines in the air, a concentration as it were of clouds on a larger scale has been depicted as well, in an arc around the fire. To the right of the fire there stands a general of the gods with in his left hand a bow held horizontally. His right hand is raised; the fingers point to the left, indicating speech. This figure, whom we met already in (f), with the same weapon and in roughly the same attitude, we there identified as Antaka. If that was correct, we must call him this here as well. It will become apparent that the poem supports us with regard to this name in (g). On the left-hand side we see Antaka's opponent. This is a commander of the gods' soldiers who is falling backwards, struck in the chest by an arrow coming from the right. He is likewise holding a bow, but in this case the weapon has been placed in a position which indicates that the *gaṇapramukha*, after having fired, is himself hit by Antaka's arrow. The wound in the chest has weakened the divine general. His right arm is hanging down obliquely, and the hand disappears under the clothing of a demon general in (h). Two arrows, approaching from the left and hence apparently not released by the fallen hero himself, are appearing above his head in the sky. A third and fourth arrow, far behind Antaka's head (above Wirabhadra's head in (f)) and also approaching from the left, are coming whistling down.

In our attempt to explain this whole scene we are helped considerably by the presence of the fire which burns demons to ashes and which will itself shortly be put out by the rain. In 25,6 and 7ab it is said that Wirabhadra falls, hit by Antaka in the chest, but having arisen he leaves the field of battle with the aid of his friends. We saw this depicted in (f). In the very next line, 27,7c, the poet informs us that the general of the gods is going to join battle against Antaka, who is still in a confident mood after his victory. Just as the poet does in 25,8a, we now pass over the duel between the two heroes, and for convenience' sake some other episodes from the battle of the armies of the good and evil sides as well. Let us mention, however, the arrow shot by Prakarṣa at Antaka's neck (25,9b), which misses the mark, seeing that it is apparently this *śara*, descending far behind Antaka's head, which we met in a detail from the previous scene. But it might also be one of the arrows which the general of the gods showers down on his adversary in 25,10c. In 25,10d we are told that Prakarṣa is aided by his fellows Ūrdhwakeśa and Reṇukarṇa. The same occurs in 26,1b with reference to Antaka, who is reinforced by Pracāṇḍa, Caṇḍa, Kāla and Parameṣṭimṛtyu. We do not see these helpers on either side in this scene. Their names are mentioned here in order to usher in the moment at which Prakarṣa, abandoned by his two friends and the whole Gaṇa army after a fierce fight (26,5ab), has to stand alone against a great number of enemies storming him.

He tries to hold his own by shooting his miraculous fire-arrow (*śarāgni winatēk nirādbhuta*, 26,6a). In the following three lines of this stanza a description is given of how the enemy is scorched and burnt to ash by the fire which, flaring up, casts a glow about. This we see in the painting, as well as Prakarṣa's bow with which the fire-arrow has been shot. Antaka observes with amazement the burning of his whole army (26,7a). He himself then calls up an excellent weapon (*warāyudha*), with the result that the "Water-Summoner" (*jalāhwana*) comes to him (26,7b). Then the rain comes rushing down, completely extinguishing the fire-weapon (*śastrabāhni*). And then Antaka begins in his boldness to flaunt his strength. In 26,8d he asks Prakarṣa to come nearer and behold the power (*śakti*) in his hand. This source of power will bring about Prakarṣa's death, the demon boasts. He straightway strikes with his wind (*tēhṛ dumūk anin-aninya*), a fear-some wonder (*kadbhuta dahat*, 26,9a). The breast of the hero Prakarṣa is hit (26,9b), and Antaka begins to bluster again. He points at his opponent and challenges him to defy his strength. Here ends the section

of the text portrayed in (g), for the generals of the gods (mentioned in 27, 1a-d), Mahodara, Piṅgalākṣa, Somawarṇa and Gaṇaratha, who back up their colleague when he is hit, do not make an appearance in (g), although they partially do so in (h).

It is striking that there is no specific mention of an arrow's causing the rain to appear. The painter must, in actual fact, have thought of such a rain-causing weapon (the word *warāyudha* is not further defined in the text). Furthermore we see that the winds too have finally taken on the form of an arrow according to the painter, whereas in the text only gusts of wind are mentioned. The painter must have thought of an arrow here as well, as he has such a weapon wound Prakarṣa in the chest. He undoubtedly also drew this knowledge from the arsenal of Balinese and Javanese missiles in the *wayan kulit*. This kind of leather wind-arrow is called in Bali *sambartaka*, and the fire-arrow *gēni astra*. They are registered in the Hooykaas Collection of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (National Museum for Ethnology) in Leiden as nos. 98, 99 and 105 respectively, of series 4281. Similar weapons are also encountered in Bali and Java in illustrations of episodes from other tales. The idea itself, of course, derives from India. In this section of the battle in the painting we based ourselves on the poem for the identification of Prakarṣa. We should not omit to mention that we have already met this hero at Śiwa's audience and in the procession of the gods. There also we proceeded from the relevant passages in the *kakawin*. In these three episodes in his work the painter has depicted this *gaṇapramukha* in the same way, and in the procession had also supplied him with bow and arrow. He has thus been consistent in this respect.

(h) All the previous scenes from the battle between gods and demons lead up to the decisive phase in the fight which is portrayed here. Fortunately there is in this case again a distinctive motif in the painting which clearly indicates certain passages from the poem, so that the whole can be explained as far as the broad outline is concerned. Furthermore we met the principal heroes represented here in previous scenes which have been identified more or less positively.

This distinctive motif, however, does not relate to persons. It is in this case a bird resembling a *garuḍa* taking off, and with the head of a snake which this divine bird is swallowing up protruding from his open beak. The red body of the snake hangs down in coils while the tail, still raised a little, in the left claw of the *garuḍa* indicates the last

convulsion of the reptile which is on the point of being consumed. On both sides of this central point the combatants are shown: behind the snake (and partially under the bird) the demons on the right-hand side, and the divine army on the left.

Behind the snake there are two demon soldiers who have been wounded in the chest by arrows and are about to fall over backwards. The one in front is already dead, judging from the position of his pupils, but the second is still alive and is waving a *gada* in defence above his head. Two demons who have likewise fallen backwards are depicted behind the first two. On the basis of internal evidence from the painting we are in this case concerned with leaders: in front is Caṇḍa, whose right upper arm appears to have been almost ripped from the shoulder by an arrow. In his right hand he is still holding a *khadga*. Pracāṇḍa, located behind him, does similarly, but in contrast to his colleague, seeing the position of his pupils, has already been killed by the arrow which has caused him a bleeding wound in the chest. Between Caṇḍa and Pracāṇḍa there stands Kāla, who can be identified from his representation in the procession of demons. Standing in the background, he has just shot an arrow to the left. Behind him we meet for the third and last time Antaka, also standing with as in (g) his right hand raised, while his left, partly obscured behind Prakarṣa in (g), is holding a bow in a horizontal position. Its point appears from behind the above *gaṇa-pramukha*'s left cheek. Neither of these two demon generals is wounded. Below the raised right foot of the *garuḍa* a demon soldier who has fallen over backwards is being wounded in the chest with a kris by a soldier of the gods who appears in front of him in a bent attitude and who is holding his weapon in the right hand and is seizing his opponent by the hair with his left. A divine soldier who has been killed is lying on his back as good as unnoticed, trampled underfoot by the clashing forces.

We come now to a leader of the divine army behind his companion armed with a kris, whom we mentioned earlier. This general is probably intended by the painter as Piṅgalākṣa. This identification is based principally on his appearance and his headdress. In the procession of gods he has a *khadga* as weapon. Here he has just shot an arrow in the direction of his opponent, that is, to the right. Below him a soldier of the gods, unobserved in the heat of battle, is lying dead on his back. Perhaps it is merely his head which we see here, which indicates a bloody fight preceding.

After Piṅgalākṣa the following persons on the left-hand side of the

scene remain to be identified. Below is Twalen with his *panah*, which in this instance has a long shaft (and therefore seems to indicate a lance rather than an arrow). Behind him is Mṛdah, armed with the kris which pertains to him in his right hand and with a red *ḍaḍap* shield held in front of the chest in his left. Above Twalen, and largely hidden by him, Mahodara appears, standing with his left arm extended forward. Perhaps he has fired an arrow, but this cannot be seen. This is definitely the case with the figure which we earlier identified as Somawarṇa or Gaṇaratha — on the cloth they are almost identical — of whom one (as was pointed out) has changed places in two preceding scenes with the *tuha-tuha* intended by the poet as Wīrabhadra. His right arm, like that of Mṛdah, is hidden by the motifs which close Scene 7 (in which the army of the gods is to be seen moving to the right).

Arrows are visible on the upper side of the whole scene. Three are flying to the left, in front of and above Mahodara and the hero standing behind him, and two in the same direction in front of Piṅgalākṣa. These five missiles must have been released by the demons. Over the latter arrows are also coming down in a slanting direction. Two are aimed at Kāla and the same number are apparently destined for Antaka, behind whose head two more arrows are falling which have already been mentioned in (g). The painter must have intended all these arrows to have been fired by members of the divine army.

In the text we again find passages which could serve as introduction to and explanation of the scene described above. In view of the occurrence of Piṅgalākṣa, Mahodara, Somawarṇa (or Gaṇaratha) in (h), we point to 27, 1a-d where Mahodara, Piṅgalākṣa, Somawarṇa and Gaṇaratha come one after another to offer help to Prakarṣa, wounded in 26, 9b by Antaka. As was observed above, these reinforcements do not occur in this battle in the painting (in (g)). Perhaps the intention there was that they would come forward without, however, having appeared at that moment in Prakarṣa's presence. In any case Piṅgalākṣa, Mahodara and Somawarṇa (or Gaṇaratha) do occur in (h) in the battling army, though it seems strange that according to the poem only the firstmentioned of these three (or four) plays a part in this final battle depicted by the painter. Perhaps this is so because in the poem they were mentioned in a preceding episode in the fight as Gaṇa leaders (*sirêka pinakâdi nin gaṇa*), very powerful on the field of battle (*suśakti rin samara*), and the pick of skilful heroes (*sūrasāra nipuna*, 27, 1c). They were the ones in this episode who continually made the flash of the arrows from their bows look like flashes of lightning (27, 1d).

In our last episode we do in fact see many arrows flying from their direction toward the enemy. Could these weapons in the sky suggest the comparison with flashes of lightning?

However this may be, after Prakarṣa's disappearance from the battle Piṅgalākṣa takes the lead in the fight as adversary of Antaka (28, 3b). In 28, 3c Pracanda joins Antaka and these two begin (in 28, 4a) together to aim at Piṅgalākṣa with arrows — which the latter manages to avoid. Then he himself takes arrows (*hrū*) in his hand which have been laden with an effective magical formula (*mantra siddhi*, 28, 4c). By these Pracanda is straightway struck in the left arm, which is severed by the shot. On the cloth we do not see Pracanda but Caṇḍa wounded by an arrow from Piṅgalākṣa in the arm, which is torn off, although in this case it is not the left but the right arm of Caṇḍa which is hit. We should observe here, however, that Caṇḍa and Pracanda were the most prominent of those whose chest was struck by a *bajra* (28, 9a), while at that moment the *kakawin* goes on to mention cripples, people with dislocated shoulders, soldiers with fractured skulls and the final convulsions of the stricken. This might perhaps explain to some extent the lower group of demons, including Caṇḍa and Pracanda. Maybe their presence is required because it was earlier mentioned (28, 5a) that all the Kīṅkaras (*saṁ watēk Kīṅkara*) rushed on Piṅgalākṣa. It was they who according to 28, 5b loosed a mass of "snake-snare arrows" (*hrū nāgapāśa*) at him, which flew through the air with licking, twisting flames. This mass of arrows is represented in our scene by only one snake. Piṅgalākṣa replies to this attack in 28, 5c with a "bird-king arrow" (*hrū khagapati*). The snake-snare weapons are broken by this. The painter has imagined this in the form of Garuḍa, who is engaged in swallowing up a snake. The latter has been made powerless and has been broken by the bird-king arrow, which is called *hrū khagendra* in 28, 5d.

The poet reports in 28, 6a that Kāla is enraged at the loss of the snake-arrows. He takes an arrow (*margaṇa*) which bears the name *śastra saṁ Kīrṇaśakti* ("Mass-Power Arrow", 28, 6b). This whizzes on through the sky which is completely filled by it, as if it were raining in the month of Māgha. But the Kīrṇaśakti arrow is sucked along by an advancing wind-arrow (*samīrāstra*); it is swept away and carried back to where it came from (28, 6d). It is this wind-arrow which, without losing any power, finally sweeps away and destroys the army of the Kīṅkaras. We do not see on the cloth the discuses (*cakra*), thunderbolts (*bajra*) and short lances (*konta*), which rain down on the

enemy and cut them to bits, which are referred to in the poem in this connection (cf. 28, 8b). The corpses piling up are mentioned, on the other hand (28, 8d); perhaps we see a depiction of them in this scene in the form of dead soldiers. Not a man in the whole Kiñkara army (according to 28, 9d) was unscathed, having been struck by the arrows (*hrū*). For the poet the battle has been settled in 28, 10a-d in favour of the forces of the gods. The only ones among the demons (as can be read in 28, 10b) capable of withdrawing are Kāla and Antaka, completely dumbfounded and powerless. They no longer adhere to the military code of honour, shocked at seeing their army defeated. Finally (in 28, 10d) they take refuge at the feet of Dharmarāja, in his palace. On the cloth Kāla and Antaka are still locked in combat with Piñgālākṣa. The painter did not depict the two demon generals' flight to the abode of Yama (i.e. Dharmarāja). But just as the poet does in Canto 28, he has the battle between the gods and demons end in (*h*).

ILLUSTRATIONS 2a AND 2b

Introductory remarks

Illustration 2a of the tale of Lubdhaka was also discussed in 1949 in the lecture on Leiden University Day. As now, I then only had access to a photograph. This belonged to a notice entitled "Pita Maha — 29 januari 1936 - 29 januari 1940". The item appeared in instalment 11 (1940) of the *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefcrinck-Van der Tuuk*. The caption below this photo reads "De Geschiedenis van Loebdaka" (The Story of Lubdhaka) and mentions the painter's name as Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl. On p. 20 we find some interesting details on the latter, written by the Dutch painter Rudolf Bonnet who for a long time was one of the people who supported in word and deed the association of Balinese painters, Pita Maha, in Ubud. Much has already been published on the rise of modern Balinese painting, which relieves us of the obligation to go into it further here. Let us quote in full what Bonnet said about the creator of this painting:

"With the passing of Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl at Kamasan on 25th April, 1937, Pita Maha and Balinese painting lost an important and unique figure. Having grown up in the Kluñkuñ school of painting which still adheres to the framework of tradition, he developed this framework into a personal style of his own, which set him apart as a painter. While there remained much of the *wayan* style in his figures, the composition, backgrounds, distribution of colour and ornamentation were new and individual. He always derived his subjects from myths, legends

and mysticism, and often his work, which possessed a strong decorative power, revealed a strange, bizarre imagination. This remarkable man worked as a clerk in the office of the Dewa Agun in Klunkun, but in his spare time he must have devoted himself to his art with great dedication, as everything down to the smallest details of ornamentation was always executed with the greatest care. As is often the case here, his importance as an artist was scarcely noticed in his own surroundings, but his "De dood van Abimanijoe" (The Death of Abimanyu), which won a prize in Paris, now hangs in the museum of the Kon. Ver. het Kol. Instituut. He was not to live to see himself receive this distinction."

On the same page of the abovementioned publication one can read that the award consisted of a silver medal which was accorded the artist at the World Exhibition in 1937. The Koninklijke Vereeniging Het Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam (Royal Tropical Institute), had commissioned a number of representative works from Pita Maha and with these provided for an entry of modern Balinese art in the French capital. A photo of the prize-winning item was likewise included in the above *Mededeelingen*. It is a coloured, decorative, elaborate drawing.

A coloured ink-drawing by the painter called "Begawan" was exhibited at the showing by Pita Maha organized by the Java Institute in its museum Sana Budaja in Jogjakarta (26th May to 4th June, 1936). This is probably the same item which, now given the name "Pedanda", was exhibited in Bandung in the same year (22nd-28th November), on the occasion of an exhibition of the abovementioned artists' society, organized by the local "Kunstkring" (Art Circle). Judging from the photo known to us of the drawing, it appears to be a developed preparatory study of the figure of the priest which occurs in the prize-winning painting in Paris. The catalogue of the Bandung exhibition mentions other works by Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl as well: a "Bimaswarga" (from the Bonnet collection); a "Bratajoeda"; a "Tantriverhaal", which is probably the same item as the one bought by Bonnet and later presented by him to the museum for modern art (Puri Lukisan) in Ubud, Bali — it represents the story of the brahman with the monkey, tiger and snake — ⁶; and finally a "Loebdaka". The "Geschiedenis van Loebdaka" found its way into the Bonnet collection, but was lost during the Second World War. If this latter item is not the same as the "Loebdaka" of the Bandung catalogue, it is possible that the "Loebdaka" went back to Bali after the exhibition and was later bought by Mr. Van der Wilk. The "Geschiedenis van Loebdaka" is discussed below as 2a, while an illustration of the story from the former Van der Wilk collection will be described under 2b. It will have to become apparent

⁶ To be seen in Goris and Drenkers, pl. 505.

from comparison of 2a and 2b whether the latter could in fact have been made by Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl. If this is the case, some of the captions above the scenes of Illustration 2b may be of relevance to the question whether Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl followed the text of the *kakawin* or a different source. It is perhaps of some interest to note that the "Loebdaka" exhibited in Bandung in 1936 was offered for 16.50 guilders.

ILLUSTRATION 2a ⁷

The episodes of the story are distributed over twelve equal squares arranged in three horizontal rows of four scenes. We continue to use the words "right" and "left" in the same way as above in Illust. 1. The frame enclosing the whole is decorated in two ways: the squares are marked at the corners by decorative motifs in a black and white check pattern; along the outer border these embellishments take the form of right-angles and half crosses, while inside the painting these motifs form crosses. These decorations can be compared in some ways with those which are found in Bali in the *ukiran* of wooden pillars or beams on the inside of a roof. Wood carvers in Bali whom I asked for a term for this called such a decorative motif *ulur*, and its extremity *capin*. These decorative motifs alternate in the above sections of the frame with lines which match these in breadth and are filled with vertical and horizontal stripes. The painter probably borrowed the idea of dividing the whole picture into squares in this way from the so-called astrological calendars and earthquake calendars (called *palintanan* and *palindon*), which he undoubtedly saw around him. The latter type of painting also sometimes displays in the frame motifs which have been borrowed from wood-carving. Our painter was probably not the only one to apply this design in modern Balinese art. One sees another example in the work of his colleague I Cantin from Péliatan who depicted with variation in the ornamentation of the borders eight animal fables from the Tantri in a painting (of which I have seen a photograph) from about 1934-36, with four rows of two episodes.

In the three rows of squares in this work by Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl the story always runs from left to right: hence it begins at the top left and ends at the bottom right. For scenes 5-12 a description of each, as far as it is possible without knowing the colours, will be followed by an attempt to explain it. The first four episodes, however, will be followed by a combined discussion.

⁷ See Plate IV.

Scene 1.

Three men are walking one behind the other through a landscape which consists of stylized mountain peaks. Above one of the peaks at the bottom left an *aren* palm has been placed which fills a large proportion of the sky over the uppermost line of these mountain peaks. A kind of perspective which Balinese painters in modern times employ now and then due to the influence of Western education has been used in the depiction of these people. All three men are clad only in a simple lower garment which is drawn up between the legs and is held in place by a belt around the waist. They are all wearing rings on the upper arm and wrist. The man on the left-hand side of the scene is wearing, like the one behind him, a head-cloth, while the last figure lacks this. Together they represent a group of hunters in the mountains, as the man on the left is holding a large cudgel over his right shoulder, while in his left hand he is carrying a rope or chain fastened around the neck of a dog which is accompanying him on the chase. The two other people are also carrying the said cudgels in the same way, but in their left hands they are together holding a stick which, as will become evident in Scene 2, is intended as a carrying-pole with which to carry the game. As in the other scenes where it occurs in this work, we see here no cloud-lines in the sky which, in the photo, is of a dark colour.

Scene 2.

Whereas in the first scene the three men are walking from right to left, here they are going in the opposite direction. We find no mountain peaks in this instance. A tree with stylized, partially depicted foliage has been placed in the background. At the foot of the trunk the artist has drawn a stylized *paṇḍan* bush, with a large *puḍak*; the ground in which it is growing is indicated by earth-lines. In the background we also see on the right-hand side, above and below, long pointed leaves looking somewhat like those of the *paṇḍan*. The smallest man, who in the previous scene walked behind, is now walking in front, or rather next to the chief figure, who is here again followed by the man behind him in the previous scene. The two latter are now carrying their pole over their left shoulders. The coiled up body of a large snake has been tied with rope to the stick. This is apparently the game which they are bearing homeward along a path which, seeing the position of their feet, is descending from a higher area into that in which the hunter's house is situated.

Scene 3.

We meet the three men again here. As will shortly become apparent, they have arrived home. The leader, on the right-hand side, is engaged in removing the scales from the snake's body with a chopper (*blakas*). He is doing this over a large cauldron which is equipped with a handle on its right-hand side; the body of the snake is partly disappearing into the tub. On the left the two companions are busy. The larger of them in the middle of the scene has in his right hand a pounding-block with which he is breaking up something — probably the snake meat — in a large pot which stands on a base which also seems to have the form of a pot, the lower part of which is partly visible. The smallest of the three people (who are here again clothed as in Scene 1) is grasping the edge of the pot with both hands. Behind him are placed two sticks which curve at the top from which skeins of some material or other hang down. These sticks look like those of the Balinese *pěnyor*, which are used at celebrations in houses or temples as a kind of flag. We do not see flags or banners of this nature here. In this case the pair of skeins is perhaps meant to consist of twisted rope, or the stylized intestines of the snake.

In the background we see sections of a house — a piece of roof covered with tiles, a roof beam and one of the wooden pillars, not to mention a screen made of lattice-work with a pattern of diamonds into which stylized flowers are worked. Just as in the frame, we again see in this detail the painter's preference for geometrical ornamentation which is also encountered in other examples of his work. He has elaborated these details with great care. Above the screen or wall a small and a large basin or bowl can be seen in which the painter intended the pieces of snake meat to be placed presently for further preparation. The round underside of the large pot on the left is suggested by shading which in turn points to modern influences in the technique of drawing.

Scene 4.

Instead of the men we find depicted in this scene two women standing beside each other on the left-hand side. The one placed on the left against the trunk of a tree is offering a woven basket containing food which she holds with both hands in front of her waist. Her companion joins her in this action of offering. The receiving party consists of an older and an (apparently) younger woman who both, like those making the sale, have a scarf (*kěpir*) around their necks. The younger lady

on the right, however, has her bosom uncovered, unlike the other three persons. The coiffure of these women is of a shape which in earlier Balinese paintings pertains to servants. The women are wearing a flower over their ears, while their upper arms and wrists, as far as can be seen, are adorned with arm-bands and bracelets. Their lower garment (*tapih*) displays a pattern of diamonds in two shades, and the upper garment (*kamben*) has a loose end on one side. Around the waist something perhaps intended as a *kamben cĕrik* holds the lower garment up. Over it is fixed a long band (*bulan*) reaching from bust to hips. This is how we believe the clothing of three of these women should be identified, on the basis of data which Tjokorde Gde Rake Soekawati published in 1926.⁸ Behind the two women on the right (the receiving party) part of a roof has been depicted. In this instance we see a pillar (*saka*) resting in a block (*sĕṇḍi*) of tuff stone. Above the heads of the ladies on the left, apart from stylized leaves on the branch of a tree, there are also schematic mountain peaks depicted, as if to suggest that the dwelling is situated on a plateau. Between the two groups of women a dog is standing on the ground. It is looking backwards up at the basket being offered. This detail has again been taken from Balinese daily life: dogs often wander round in yards looking for scraps.

In this scene the painter wished to portray how the wives of the men from the previous scene, or the wife and daughter of the chief man, offer or sell to neighbours or relatives in a village high in the mountains the snake-meat which was collected by him and his companions and prepared by the ladies. The presence of the dog is a matter of course for the Balinese in scenes such as this.

The things which we see depicted in these first four scenes of the second Lubdhaka illustration are not to be found on the *idĕr-idĕr*, as what is seen here precedes the first scene of the *idĕr-idĕr*. The four episodes of Illust. 2 give a summary of what can be read in the *kakawin* in 2, 1-2. It is said there of Lubdhaka that he lived among the mountain-peaks (2, 1c *pucak nikañ acala*) in splendid surroundings. Free of cares he enjoyed life, with his wife and children (2, 1d *lawan swabhāryātmaja*). In the second stanza of this canto the poet informs us that the hunter had never adhered to the moral law, and never accumulated religious merit. On the contrary, according to 2, 2b-c he had always occupied himself in hunting and killing tiger, wild boar, elephant and rhinoceros

⁸ Tjokorde Gde Rake Soekawati, 1926, pp. 12-22.

(*maburū garwaynya mamati-ni mon wēk gaja mwan warak*). He had killed all sorts of wild animals (*salwir nin mrga*) in the chase. This is how (as we read in 2, 2d) he provided for the support of his children (*tanaya*), wife (*dāra*) and other relatives (*len-len kadañ*).

In the first scene the painter wished to represent the hunter with companions, including perhaps a son, during the chase in the highland forests. In the second scene none of the animals mentioned in the text has been caught or killed, but a large snake, with which the painter gave a sample of "all kinds of wild animals". Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl portrayed in Scenes 3 and 4 how the hunter provided for the livelihood of his family and the way he helped his relatives.

Scene 5.

A man dressed like the hunters in Scenes 1-3 is lying forward with his head on the left-hand side of the scene among branches and clusters of leaves of a tree. On the left under the tree we see long, pointed leaves (of a *paṇḍan*?) and beside them a spotted tiger with his tail raised. The latter is looking back with its head turned toward the man's face above him. Below the tiger the ground is represented by a semi-circle. From the tree leaves are falling from left to right on the tiger, on the ground and against the edge of a stylized pond. They are of the same form as those we noted in Scene 2 — typical *maja* leaves (as in the first scene of the *iděr-iděr*) are not depicted. The side of the pond shows a method of construction which is modern for Bali: stones which are cemented into a foundation. This representation will be of use to us in the explanation of a section in the eleventh scene on this painting. Inside the edges of the partially depicted pond we see the water drawn with horizontal lines. On the water we find some irregular, pointed leaves placed in a circle which is supposed to represent a lotus-cushion. In the centre of it there sits a crowned deity, kneeling, who can be identified as Śiwa because of his three eyes and four arms. The god is looking toward the tree, and his rear left arm is raised in that direction. Śiwa is attired in the way we described the distinguished clothing of the celestial beings on the *iděr-iděr*. He is here not surrounded by a halo. Behind the pond we see again the stylized mountain-peaks known from the first and fourth scenes on this painting.

Whereas the presence of hunters in the first, second and third scenes would not necessarily have to refer to the tale of Lubdhaka if we did not know the remainder of the representation in the painting, we are

confronted in the fifth scene with what points directly to this story. This is something which we encountered in the first scene of the *iděr-iděr* and explained by reference to what can be read in the *kakawin* in 5, 3-6.

In the fifth scene the figurations have been placed differently, as is evident. In this instance the mountain peaks point to a wood at a high elevation. Here the god is seated, and there is no *līṅga* depicted. The bow and arrows are absent. The hunter is not attired in *wayan* costume, although the god is. We see here no *maja* fruit among the leaves, but in contrast to what was found on the *iděr-iděr*, a tiger under the tree. According to the text not a single animal appears by the pond during Lubdhaka's vigil. It does say that Lubdhaka in the tree is afraid of being killed by wild animals such as rhinoceros, wild bulls and lions, if he should fall from the branches. The leaves which he has taken off, on the other hand, can be clearly seen. Here they are falling in the direction of, not into, the pond. The presence of the tiger in the fifth scene can perhaps be explained by the presence of such an animal in other episodes from stories known in Bali. There are, for example, scenes which show the palm-wine tapper with a tiger under the tree in the representation of a constellation on the *palintanian*, or that of the wicked hunter and the noble she-monkey known from the Tantri tales as well as from the relevant reliefs of the East Javanese temple Caṇḍi Jago, dating from the 13th century A.D. From another work of Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl which was mentioned above we know that this painter must have been acquainted with the animal stories occurring in the Tantri. Perhaps the tiger has also been depicted in this scene in order to suggest the shaking of the leaves by Lubdhaka, who is frightened of the *mṛga*.

Scene 6.

On the floor of an open *bale*, of which we see partially depicted the tiled roof, a man is lying, covered only by a white cloth from the chest to the knees, which hangs down on the near side of the bed. Vertical stripes can only faintly be seen on the cloth. The roof rests on poles. On the left we see a *saka* passing through the floor and resting in a block (*sēṇḍi*) of tuff stone, such as we have already seen in the fourth scene.⁹ The pillars have a certain material wound around them in several places. The side of the bed away from us is screened off by a

⁹ See Scene 10 of Illustration 2b, however, for another possibility.

lattice of thin slats of bamboo. A woman with her hair hanging down is sitting on the ground in front of the bed with her back turned toward us. Her head has been put in an oblique position against the white cloth, over which she has draped both arms. On the left a child is kneeling on the ground, dressed like the smallest figure in the first scene. Its body is inclined forward. The left hand, supported under the elbow by the right, covers the face. As with the woman, this attitude indicates sorrow, and in this case perhaps the child's crying as well. Another child is kneeling in roughly the same position to the right of the woman. Here the sorrowful figure is resting the right elbow on the right knee. These are not the only grieving figures in this scene. On the other side of the floor a woman is depicted standing, who is bending over the man's chest with her head turned towards him. Her right upper arm is partially visible and her left hand is laid over the white cloth on the level of the man's stomach, near the left arm of the woman who is kneeling. A small child whose chest, head and arms are partly visible, likewise on the other side of the floor to the left of the standing woman, is looking in a bent position at the face of the man, whose eyes are closed.

At the front of the roof we see two creatures descending in a slanting position, in an attitude which indicates flight. They have the face of a monkey, and a naked body. The one in front has its tongue hanging out of its mouth. They hold their hands raised on a level with their upper body. Perhaps their bodies are also supposed to represent those of monkeys. If this is the case we are dealing with two werewolves (*leyak*), in particular the variety which according to Dr. Wolfgang Weck is called *leyak pamoroan*, which have changed completely into animals.¹⁰ In this instance it is their task to take the man's life or to affect his soul adversely.

It is obvious that we are here, as in Scene 4 of the *iděr-iděr*, concerned with Lubdhaka's dying hour, while his household grieves around him. His wife stands at the rear side of the bed. A daughter, perhaps the one we saw in the fourth scene where the food was being offered, sits on the floor. In this instance three children have been depicted. One cannot say whether one of them is intended to be a relative or a mourner (*kadan*; *atungu*). Perhaps, however, we encounter the last-mentioned category only in the following scene, and hence members

¹⁰ From C. Hooykaas, 1940, p. 145, on the basis of a lecture by Dr. Wolfgang Weck published in 1936, pp. 286-289.

of the household (wife and children) are intended here. For passages from the poem which could possibly have been illustrated here the reader is referred to what was said on that subject in connection with the fourth scene of the *iděr-iděr*. The only addition to this is that both the *leyak* in this fifth scene could perhaps represent sickness demons which are coming to torment Lubdhaka's body with fever, or to fetch his soul. Possibly their depiction is at the same time intended to suggest that death has come in the form of a terrible illness, as can be read in the *kakawin*, 9, 1b.

Standing men interpreted as relatives (*kadañ*), such as were found in Scene 4 of the *iděr-iděr*, are not to be seen here. In contrast to the two children of the *iděr-iděr*, three small children have been depicted here, of whom two are standing in front of the bed and in view of their clothing must represent boys, while the smallest child at the rear of the bed has also perhaps to be regarded as a boy. This is because a girl, judging from the costume of nearly all the women in these illustrations, would have to wear a scarf around her neck, which is not the case with the child in question.

Scene 7.

A body, now completely wrapped in white cloth, is being carried on a stretcher by two men who are dressed like the hunters. Such a cloth is called among the lowest caste *rurub-kajañ* — the first part of this term occurs in the *kakawin* (as we shall see) in the description of this episode. The six strips with a check motif placed over the shroud remind us of the strips of ratan fibre laid on the bamboo cover over a shroud.¹¹ According to information given to me the stretcher may be called *pěnusañan*, or perhaps this is what could be a kind of *salu pinda* without feet. It is difficult to establish whether the two bearers are fellow hunters or relatives of the deceased. To the side of the bier and beside the left-hand bearer walks the wife of the deceased, to judge from her clothing which is comparable to that of the woman from the fourth scene placed on the left and offering food. In this case she is accompanied by two children both of whom have no scarf around their necks and are thus comparable with the two children in front of the deathbed in the previous scene. The background is formed by partially visible trees bearing branches and leaves, the latter having the shape of those from the second, fourth and fifth scenes. To judge from the photo the

¹¹ Wirz, 1928, p. 25.

persons are walking on a level, dark-coloured background above which either partly visible motifs depicting mountains or dikes (*galěñan*) of ricefields can be seen. The edge of the path is placed from left to right in a slanting position, which perhaps indicates a journey from an area situated in a high place to a lower one. The upper part of the woman's body is somewhat bent forward, and her arms are extended along the body.

What we see here does not occur between the death scene in Scene 4 of the *iděr-iděr* and the rise of Lubdhaka's soul into the clouds portrayed there in Scene 5. This seventh episode from the tale of the hunter is hence a welcome supplement in the search for possible depictions of passages from the text; in this case we should like to point to 10, 1bc. There the poet begins to relate the way in which the deceased (*matī*), already wrapped in a shroud (*rinuruban*), is carried along a path over the mountains (*i hirin in gunun-gunun*). The relatives who have come to the house (*kadañ-kadañ iki-n datěñ*) accompany him together one behind the other along the way (*hěnu*). Combining directly with the preceding, we find mentioned in 10, 1d something which was not depicted here but is suggested in Scene 8. We do not see portrayed here any cremation-tower carried along in a procession in which many other kinds of things would have to be brought as well, if this concerned the preparations for the cremation of a person of prominent caste. This is in agreement with the aim of the story. The hunter belongs to a caste in which the dead do not need to be surrounded by pomp and ceremony at the funeral rites. These are of course people who during their lives have ignored all ethical precepts and who will be punished in hell after death for having killed animals as a *tuha boros* (Bal. : hunter). A passage from the Middle Javanese poem *Bhīmaswarga* says of a man who during his life was a keen hunter that he was punished after death for two years by the Buta Moha and for eighteen years by the Buta Gagak Sona, in order to be reborn as a tiger.¹² In some Balinese paintings which illustrate the *Bhīmaswarga* one can see the hunter (*tuha boros*) being pursued by tigers in hell. As Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl was a brahman (as his name indicates) he perhaps wanted consciously to adhere to the spirit of the caste rules in this part of his Lubdhaka illustration.

Scene 8.

The scene is divided into two parts by a low wall (in the photo white)

¹² Juynboll, 1913, p. 83.

which is placed almost horizontally. In the top section, about in the centre, a kind of floor or fundament is to be seen. Above that, with as background a sky coloured dark in the photo, there stands a structure in light colours. It is a kind of seat with a back above which a top is mounted. On the right-hand side we see on this top a black tip pointing to the left. This dark patch does not belong to the sky, which is likewise kept in sombre toning, but, although it is not clearly visible in the photo, is probably the tail of a bird dimly outlined against the sky. Its head must point to the right. With this bird a crow is probably intended. The frightful character of the *sěma* (cemetery) is emphasized for the Balinese by the presence of the crow. The form of this structure shows it to be a variant of the seats, still found in Bali, for Sūrya, a god who is sometimes identified with Śiwa. Against the back, on the seat of the bench stand a pair of objects, namely a white bottle looking somewhat like a geneva bottle, with next to it (partially obscured by the bottle) a plate, seen from above, with stripes on the edge and light dots on the dark centre. Perhaps these are offerings on the Sūrya seat (*saṅgar Sūrya*), consisting of a bottle containing holy water and a dish with ritual foods (*bantěn*) in the form of little cakes. On the left-hand side there stands in front of the bench what may be a foundation, of a dark colour with in the lower part, in the middle and on the upper side light squares filled with diagonals as decoration. If the construction is intended to be built of imperishable material, something has been depicted here which looks like the foot of a niche (which cannot be seen in our illustration). In that case perhaps the dark parts are probably meant to be constructed of red brick and the light pieces from tuff stone (*paras*). There is a wooden offering-dish with foot (*dulañ*) placed on the foundation. This location of the *dulañ* makes us reject the idea that with the lower part something else could have been intended, namely two similar offering containers placed one on top of the other. In any case we cannot say with absolute certainty that this is the *pěplěnkunian*, *pěnuryagan* or *pisanjati* used in funerary rites.¹³

In the lower half of the scene we see to the right and to the left a *kamboja* tree such as is found in temple courtyards in Bali. The branches and leaves are projecting against the sky in the upper section of this illustration. In front of or beside the left *kamboja* tree is an offering platform on a pole. Its form makes it possible to identify it as a so-called *prucuk*¹⁴ with matted sides and back. From the front there

¹³ Wirz, 1928.

¹⁴ For other terms see Scene 12 of Illustration 2b.

hangs an "offering cloth" called *lamak*. Such an item must be made of dark green *jaka* leaves and of strips of young palm-leaves (*busun*). Because of the difference in colour it is possible to form ornamental patterns in the weaving. In this case the ornamentation of the *lamak* consists of narrow light and dark horizontal bars. For the sake of completeness we should, however, mention that the *lamak* can also be of fabric decorated in various colours. The lack of colours in the photo does not allow us a definite identification with regard to a possible fabric. Apart from in rice-fields (where it is for Dewi Mēlantīn), such a *prucuk* is also to be found in places where another deity is worshipped. In a cemetery a Sūrya seat can sometimes occur together with such a niche for offerings made of perishable materials; in that case the niche appears to be intended for Prajāpati (*saṅgar Prajāpati*). It is possible, though, that in this scene the *prucuk* is connected with good or evil spirits which must be propitiated with offerings. This is related to what we find depicted in the lower half of the scene. In a courtyard which is drawn in dark colours on right and left in the photo — indicating shadowing done in the modern style in the time this drawing was made — and which in the centre appears as a light area broadening out toward the bottom, dark dots have been placed, intended perhaps as particles of the earth of the compound. These dots are also visible between four bands, placed at a certain distance from each other and curved somewhat, which must represent the same thing as the six strips of ratan fibre in Scene 7 which hang down over the shroud in which Lubdhaka is wrapped. In Scene 8, too, a similar decoration is to be seen. In this case, though, they are not strips of ratan fibre laid over a shroud, as the curved dark lines with which these strips are joined on the upper side might suggest. The dark spots between the shaded strips indicate something else, namely that remains of the bier have been left behind in the cemetery. The same can be said of the petals which can be seen lying on the ground in some places between the strips of ratan fibre. The flowers have been used as offerings in the ritual. It is uncertain whether they are intended to be those of the *kamboja* trees, as these are in fact white. Between the two strips of ratan fibre on the right-hand side we see something which should perhaps have been encountered on the bier in Scene 7. These are pieces of a woven mat (*tikar*). In this connection one is reminded of such an object, made of *paṇḍan* leaves, which is laid as a covering for the body over the *rurub-kajan* (the shroud for someone of low caste). Under part of the *tikar* on the right-hand side of this scene we see (apart from the

particles of earth already mentioned) another five larger spots. It is possible that these are intended to be coins (*kepen*), or small offerings of other material placed on the ground for evil spirits. The white shroud has in our opinion not been depicted. In the context of the illustration in the drawing one might be able to interpret the artist's aim as follows: the wife, children and relatives of the dead hunter have wrapped his body in cloth decorated with strips of ratan ribre and have brought it to the cremation-ground (*sěma*) on a bier. There they have removed the body wrapped in its *rurub-kajan* from the bier and have left the decorations over the cloth behind in the courtyard of the cemetery or cremation-ground. In order to guarantee the soul of the deceased a safe journey into the afterworld offerings for the prominent gods (on the *saṅgar Sūrya* and in the *prucuk*) and for the demons (on the ground) were made to propitiate the higher and lower beings. We do not see the cremation itself. It is possible that a burial is intended, as in Scene 12 of 2b. The family and relatives have returned home. Lubdhaka's soul, not seen in Scene 8, has begun its journey to the land of the dead; we will meet it in Scene 9.

As was noted at the end of the reference to the text in Scene 7, if one looks for a passage from the *kakawin* which might correspond with this representation, as regards Scene 8 one could think of the final line of Canto 10: "He was cremated and when he had turned to ashes those who came with him returned to their homes." In agreement with this no figures are to be found in Scene 8.

Scene 9.

In this scene in fact we see the "soul-body" (*awak*; *kurun*) of the dead hunter in the company of three demons. The latter all have spikes of hair on their heads pointing to right and left. They are wearing flowers as ear-ornament, and their bodies are further adorned with upper-arm and wrist-rings. Around their necks and diagonally across their chests a decorated band has been wound; this is a variety of *sělimpēt*, such as the demons on the *iděr-iděr* also have. Of the demon on the right only the left leg has been depicted, although a scanty dark-coloured lower garment can be seen pulled up between the legs. This demon is holding in both hands the raised ankles of the soul whose legs he has forced apart. The soul's chest and face are hanging diagonally downward. Close to the partly visible short lower garment of the soul the right hand of the demon on the left has been put around the

tortured man's thigh. It is not clear what this demon is holding in his raised left hand. Perhaps he has grasped the soul's left ankle. Behind where the (invisible) ankle must be we see a shape pointing upward in a slanting position which does not belong to the background. This form indicates perhaps a decorated club. This second demon has over his right hip a fold of clothing which ends in a "swallow-tail" (*kañcut*), and is reminiscent of part of the *wayan* costume. The third demon is represented leaning forward to the left. His left arm is raised a little and the left hand is in the position which indicates speech. The soul's head, at which the demon is looking threateningly, is being held with his right hand, extended downward. His lower garment is depicted more fully than was the case with his companions. It displays parts which we have already mentioned in the description of the generals of gods and demons on the *idër-idër*. This third demon can hence be regarded as a leader who is being assisted in tormenting the soul by two demonic servants of lower rank. What they are doing with the body here becomes clear when we pay attention to the object in the centre. As far as it is visible, we can determine that we have here a depiction of a huge, decorated pot. The neck is narrower toward the bottom than toward the top, where we see a yawning opening. The upper edge shows a lip, and the side of the neck a continuous decoration of vertical ribs, which are slightly fluted. At the point where the neck passes into the belly of the pot the painter has placed a decorative band. Judging from the photo, this consists of jewel motifs on a dark ground placed between two light, horizontal lines. Above and below the horizontal lines there are decorative triangles (*tumpal*) pointing upwards and downwards respectively.

Undoubtedly we have here a variation devised by the painter of what is known in East Javanese and Balinese art and literature as a hellish cauldron. This can be indicated in two ways: as a copper pot with one or two cow's heads (the *tāmbra gohmukha*, or similar term), or the hellish crater (*kawah*). The ornamentation of this pot indicates metal-work; the cattle-heads are not to be seen. Both forms are to be found in older Balinese art on painted cloths, for example in the depictions of episodes from the Middle Javanese *macapat* poem *Bhīma-swarga*. In connection with the punishments in hell shown on the reliefs of the *stūpa* Barabudur in Central Java we see the cauldron without cows' heads. In the background the painter has applied above the rim of the cauldron two horizontal lines with a check pattern intended as the joints in a floor. On the upper row vertical shapes have been placed

which are only partially visible, roughly equal and contiguous. For the identifications of these one might refer to the variations which occur in Balinese paintings indicating the entrance of a cave, for example the one in which or in front of which Arjuna sits meditating while heavenly nymphs try to break his concentration through the arts of seduction. If such a meaning is also applicable here we can state broadly that we have before us the entrances of seven caves. Could perhaps the idea of the *saptapatāla* be represented here? This hypothesis might be reinforced by the fact that in illustrations of the Bhīmaswarga on the inside of the roof of the old court of justice of the Dewa Agung of Klungkung such a shape, or a variation, suggests the idea of a small hell (*kawah*), as a *dalan* on the spot informed me. The above would then be in agreement with the place represented in this scene. The ministers of hell are about to cast the soul into the cauldron, after having for the last time reviled him over his evil conduct, for which he will be punished by becoming fodder (*isi*) for the hellish pot.

If one searches in the poem for a passage which describes what is represented here, nothing can be found. Pracaṇḍa, a general of the *Kiṅkarabala* does in the *kakawin* make the observation that he will never allow Lubdhaka to escape from the copper pot with the cows' heads (*tāmbra gohwaktra* 19, 4d). He gives orders to his servants to bring the soul in a cage to the Yamapada, where Lubdhaka will be made filling (or contents, *isi*) of hell (*kawah*). The servants prepare to seize Lubdhaka in order to bring him to their dwelling (*swagrha*). The plan fails. Lubdhaka's soul is freed by members of Śiwa's forces in time and is brought in the heavenly chariot to the gods' dwelling. (The relevant passages were already mentioned in the description of the scene which appears as Scene 9 on the *idēr-idēr*.) According to the poem the soul never goes to the Yamapada; that is where the great hell is, with the cauldron.

Perhaps the painter did not consider it necessary to follow literally the text known to us in depicting this part of the story. It may be that he was influenced by what he saw in his days in illustrations of the Bhīmaswarga. This text is mentioned yet again here because (as was noted above) Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl also painted a "Bhīmaswarga" himself. It is uncertain whether the painter was actually thinking of the name Pracaṇḍa (who in our text threatened Lubdhaka's soul) when he portrayed the leading official of hell in this scene. Remembering the names from Bhīmaswarga he might rather have been aiming at Ghorawikrama or Bala Utpāta who, with Surātma (called "younger

brother" by Ghorawikrama in the poem) attended the audience of Jogor Maṇik. The god Yama is sometimes replaced by the latter in scenes from the Bhīmaswarga.¹⁵ It will shortly become evident that the painter did not follow our text word for word in Scene 10 either.

Scene 10.

Lubdhaka's "spiritual body", adorned with bracelets and covered only in a loincloth drawn between the legs which looks dark in the photo, is standing in the middle of the scene on a floor with ornamented tiles between two persons who are characterized as gods by their crowns. On the right is Śiwa, represented with the third eye on his forehead and with four arms. His clothing is a variation of the divine attire which we already know from the description of the *iděr-iděr*, but with the difference that the lower garment which reaches to above the knee has another decorative motif. The god is looking to the left and has taken by the upper arm the soul which is inclining somewhat toward him with the upper body and head. His right, upper hand indicates speech; Śiwa is addressing the god who can be seen on the left. This demon king is most probably (in connection with his crown) intended to be Yama (Dharmarāja) himself. His costume also looks like that of the leading divine beings from the *iděr-iděr*; the crown marks him as Śiwa's equal. During the discussion with Śiwa, Yama holds the right wrist of Lubdhaka's soul. In the background we see a stylized wall with stones in diamond form which are laid with cement in the modern way. The top of the wall rises in steps. In the middle we see the schematic representation of a door which on the upper side is decorated with stylized motifs in the form of lotus leaves. The door itself is of a shape which reminds us of the seven constructional features above the floor in the preceding scene. In Scene 10 we now see that we were on the right track in the description of these shapes in Scene 9; apparently there too seven entrances were intended. It is possible that part of another large door was depicted behind Śiwa's crown.

Proceeding from the significance of Scene 9 where a cauldron in Yama's abode or in the great hell (Bhīmaswarga: *kawah agun*) was depicted, in Scene 10, where Yama is holding onto Lubdhaka's soul, we might think of an episode in his palace, the Yamālaya. Śiwa has arrived there to rescue the hunter's soul, which is bowing to him, so that the gods become involved in an argument. In this case, though,

¹⁵ For these names see the reference to Juynboll in note 12 above.

one would have to assume that Lubdhaka has already undergone his punishment in the cauldron, unless Yama had given orders to his servants to release the *niṣāda* at the last moment before his disappearance into the pot. This release, if such an interpretation is correct, must have been demanded by Śīwa. But not a single passage from our poem mentions a stay by Lubdhaka in hell or an argument between the gods there. The only place in the text where Śīwa and Yama discuss the hunter's soul is to be found in stanzas of Cantos 32-35. There, however, something quite different is being related. According to these passages Lubdhaka's soul only arrives in the Śīwālaya after the defeat of the demons. When Yama goes there himself to pay his respects he does not dream of taking Lubdhaka's hand during an argument with Śīwa. On the contrary, the king of hell acts very submissively. Śīwa explains the position to him, together with the statement that Lubdhaka will never go to Yama's abode. Then the God of Death departs, very amazed to see how an evil *śabara* should have been raised to a divine state. In the third Lubdhaka illustration, which we still have to discuss, we shall return to the abovementioned passages.

With regard to Scene 10, one could if need be, in view of what the text says, consider that not the abode of Yama but that of Śīwa is intended here. There it, however, too much which is opposed to this.

Our conclusion is hence that Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl, as in Scene 9, also went his own way in Scene 10. Perhaps we need not imagine a different version (written or oral) which, if it existed, was followed. We might rather consider whether the painter here too has applied a procedure analogous to what is found in the *Bhīmaswarga* — the Pāṇḍawa hero visits Yama in his hellish abode, defeats him, tips over the cauldron and thus releases the members of his family.

Scene 11.

A man, dressed similarly to Lubdhaka's "spiritual body" in the two previous scenes, is facing to the right, climbing a staircase. The painter probably meant what functions in the picture as underside of the stairs to serve as its sides. He was thinking of the shape of a stair placed against the cremation tower, although here the bamboo poles which support such a stair have been omitted. The upper side of the stair in the picture displays as ornamentation a row of small dots; these are not meant as steps. In actual fact Lubdhaka's body would have to be half or more obscured. In the painting we see above the rising section

of the stair four parasols decreasing in size from left to right; the one furthest to the left stands above Lubdhaka. Such parasols are sometimes used when the shrouded body is conveyed up the cremation stair as a mark of honour for the deceased. The painter must have intended here that respect is shown toward Lubdhaka in a similar way.

In the decoration of what we shall for convenience' sake go on calling the side of the stair turned towards us, Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl has clearly demonstrated his predilection and knowledge with respect to carefully executed decorative motifs. We see from top to bottom successively a series of little arcs, small dark dots and circles with dark centres, lotus-leaf motifs, a dark band and under it finally white spots as decoration of a narrow band applied to the whole length of the underside. It is unfortunate that we find ourselves in uncertainty as to whether colours were used in these motifs. Nevertheless it might not be going too far to suggest that with this decoration the painter was thinking of precious substances of which the structure was made.

It is not easy to say what can have been meant by the part under the stair, which the painter gave a light colour and in which he put many small, dark marks, irregular in form and size. At first sight we might be inclined to think of small pieces of cloud against a light sky, as such are wont to occur on older Balinese cloths, as on the *idër-idër*, in the depiction of air or sky. In this painting, however, the sky is always indicated with a dark shade, and as far as we can see Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl has never put stylized clouds (*awon-awon*) in the sky. So he was apparently thinking of something different, and perhaps the side of the pond in which śiwa is sitting on a lotus-seat in Scene 5 can supply us with the solution to the puzzle. As was mentioned above in the case of the wall around the pond, we must consider stones fixed in masonry for the black shapes against a white background. This points to a style of drawing influenced by the West in which the stylization of walls and floors to be found in older Balinese paintings was not employed, but the more modern method of building in Bali was carefully copied. Taking what can be seen in Scene 5 as a basis, one might likewise in Scene 11 be permitted to regard this as a section of wall with stones cemented into it. On the wall has been placed the stair, of which we see the ornamented balustrade on one side. This conception of what is represented may explain why no posts are visible under the side of the staircase.

The uncertainty about the identification of the representation as a whole remains for the time being, however, when one proceeds to

observe the form which partially covers the wall on the lower side. What the painter meant to portray was the top of a wheel with its hub in the shape of a lotus. From the lotus-petals spokes, widening from the centre, are attached to a rim which is ornamented with jewel motifs. A lotus as the hub of a wheel occurs in Balinese painting and sometimes also in sculpture, as was already the case in ancient Java. One must now ask what function this wheel fulfils here. It is perhaps possible to suppose that the stair, the side wall below it and the wheel belong together. If this is so, then we have here parts of the side of a chariot displaying costly ornamentation. But should one maintain that a wheel can scarcely be attached to the stone side of what might be a chariot, one would be obliged to conclude that here two separate items are represented, namely a staircase and a wheel, of which the latter could be the symbol for a chariot. It is unfortunate that we do not know in what colour the white piece of wall may have been painted. Perhaps gold was intended as its material, or perhaps white was used to indicate silver. In that case the building, together with the wheel, could indeed be regarded as a partially depicted chariot constructed of costly materials. Lubdhaka would then be mounting the chariot. The other view is that the wheel represents a chariot in which the soul has arrived at the stair which, placed on a wall, leads to a dwelling (not portrayed) which rises high above the ground (also not portrayed).

Taking the previous scene as basis for the explanation of what is portrayed here, it can be established that Lubdhaka's soul has been released by Śīwa from Yama's clutches and is now, all alone, mounting a costly structure in which a wheel plays a role. Referring to the poem, one could consider two scenes in this context: firstly what is portrayed on the *idēr-idēr* almost at the beginning of the battle scenes. After a swift attack by the soldiers of Śīwa on the Kiṅkara army, the *niṣāda* is taken away by the splendid jewelled chariot (*maṇipuṣpakârja*; *wimāna*; *puṣpaka*), while the latter has been represented on the cloth as a bird of demonic appearance (*wilmana*) — see 19, 7a. In this part of the story he rises unattended with the chariot into the air; the army of Śīwa is still locked in deadly combat. But in 29, 1cd we are told that all the Gaṇa soldiers (who after the victory cease pursuing the enemy) return together in good spirits through the air with the soul of Lubdhaka, while the divine chariot precedes, escorted by the Gaṇas who have conquered in battle. The return journey to the *Śīwālaya* is omitted in 29, 2a. We are only told that the Gaṇas then together come to bring their homage at the feet of Jagatpati (the World-Lord); 29, 2b

tells us that Lubdhaka also quickly bows before the Lord, who then addresses him kindly. In subsequent passages of this Canto it is related that Lubdhaka receives an appearance similar to that of Śiwa and that he will thus excell in his form all others in heaven. 29, 4b tells us that a jewelled chariot (*ratnapuṣpaka*) is granted to Lubdhaka by Śiwa.

If, in view of these passages, one wishes to rely exclusively on the poem, in this scene we could see the soul of the *niṣāda* mounting the jewelled chariot in which he will be taken to heaven. So in this instance the vehicle is not represented in the form of a bird, although the precious materials could indicate the construction of the *wimāna*, such as is mentioned in the poem.

Seeing, however, that the painter in the previous scenes also gave evidence of a similar free interpretation in the portrayal of this story, we are inclined to favour the possibility that Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl wished to reproduce something else in this scene. Lubdhaka has left the chariot in which he was conveyed to heaven; of this chariot we see only a wheel as a symbolical representation. The hunter thereupon mounts a stair which leads to Śiwa's elevated dwelling, while by means of the parasols the respect is meanwhile shown him with which the god will later reward him again, by granting a heavenly form and through the gift of a chariot, as the poem says.

Scene 12.

A man with the appearance of Lubdhaka's soul from previous scenes, but now with a headdress ending in a point above his head, is standing (judging from the fact that we cannot see his lower arms, hands or feet) behind the opening of a door or gate, of which the sides obscure these parts of him. The entrance itself looks approximately like that in Scene 10. The seven arches in Scene 9 can also be considered for comparison here. In Scene 10, too, concentric frames around the entrance can be seen. The two outermost are adorned with stylized leaves. On top of and in the centre of the third frame (counting outwards) something in the shape of a crown (of a dark shade in the photo) has been placed; the fourth frame joins onto this top-piece. The frames around the entrance rest on a step decorated with circles on a dark background. From the centre of the underside of the step run two strips (also filled with circular shapes) diagonally downward to left and right, thus forming a central area (dark in the photo) which converges to a point at the top. In this area the painter wished to portray

steps, which are not horizontal but have the form of convex surfaces overlapping from below. They appear to be decorated with a leaf-motif; perhaps lotus leaves were intended.

The step of the gate stands on a decorated foundation which is partially obscured on right and left by parts of two similar buildings which are placed symmetrically next to what will have been intended as a stairway with rounded steps leading up to the gate. Seeing that the buildings have seven roofs (Bal. *tumpaŋ*), we shall call them *meru* here. The foundation of the *meru* is in the form of a rectangle with a deeper, light panel surrounded by a darker projecting frame. The foundation provides space for a verandah on top of it, behind which a closed room (of wood or stone) can be seen. The lowest roof covers the verandah and room and is supported in front by two pillars. These rest in blocks of tuff stone (*paras*) which stand on the corners of the foundation. One looks through the verandah at the front wall of the room; the wall is decorated on the lower side with a motif of triangles (*tumpal*). A door with two wooden panels closed with a lock is to be seen in the centre. It looks as if the top of these panels does not fit exactly with the door frame. This sort of door still exists in Bali, for example, in the gate of the palace (*puri*) at Kluŋkuŋ. On either side of the door a small square window is placed. The seven roofs are covered with black *aren* fibre (Bal. *ijuk* or *duk*). Between the roofs we see the bearing sections in the form of small rectangles. The wooden supports mostly attached to them are here invisible. Above the sixth roof a decoration has been placed which contains the seventh as a crown. We see something similar over the gate which, as was noted, has an outer edge with leaf motifs which has also been placed around the *meru*. A niche such as is found at the royal graves at Tampak Sirin was not intended here. We should instead consider a halo serving to emphasize the sacred character of the two buildings (and the gate). On either side of each *meru* a flagpole can be seen above the ridge of the second roof. Because of its curved shape at the top it is meant to be made of bamboo. From the tip hangs a dark flag in a wavy line which suggests flapping in the wind. These flagpoles are the Balinese *pěnyor* which are erected in temple compounds as tokens of reverence for the deity at religious ceremonies. In front of the foundation of each *meru* (on either side of the steps leading up to the gate) part of a courtyard can be seen similar to that of a temple, in this instance portrayed as a floor paved with diamond-shaped tiles. In the lower part of the scene, to the left and right of the broad base of the steps,

three pots have been placed. These stand on a base and are filled with stylized white plants or flowers.

Referring to the poem for passages which might explain the above scene, aside from the problem as to whether the painter knew our version of the tale, we can look back to what was said about this in the discussion of Scene 11. We can now go into it more deeply. Among other things we intend to note names used to indicate Śiwa, his spouse and the divine residence. Descriptions of the heavenly palace in the text can be compared with what the painter depicted in this connection. To this end passages will also be mentioned which do not apply to this scene but which will be of benefit for a more detailed description of Śiwa's abode on Mt. Kailāsa. Even so, the painter may have distilled a combined representation of such an abode from various parts of the story.

In 29, 2ab mention is made of the homage which the army brought at the feet of Jagatpati, and furthermore of Lubdhaka who likewise hastened to bow before the Lord (*bhaṭāra*), who first addresses him graciously (29, 2c), praising his steadfastness in executing vows, and finally (29, 2d) inviting him to come nearer as an indication of his satisfaction at Lubdhaka's conduct. The place where this is enacted is, according to 29, 3a, the Śiwālaya, which is subsequently also mentioned by another name. Lubdhaka will now gather the fruits (*phala*) of his good conduct. Śiwa informs him that none among all the Gaṇa hosts will excell him (29, 3d). In 29, 4b the god's boon to Lubdhaka is specified: he will receive the most noble body (*śarīra mukhya*) of all who dwell in the Śiwapada, together with a jewelled chariot (*ratna-puṣpaka*). Apart from some miraculous powers, the hunter also receives three eyes (29, 4c: *trilocana*). The next sentence of this stanza mentions that Lubdhaka receives as gifts all kinds of worthy and splendid ornaments (*warabhūṣaṇārja*), which comprise Śiwa's attire (*bhūṣaṇa mami*, 29, 4d). In short, there will be no distinction between Lubdhaka's body (*awak*) and the body (*śarīra*) of Śiwa (29, 5a). Only the hunter will enjoy everything which is pleasant (*rāmya*) in the Śiwālaya. His enjoyment there will continue as long as the *pañca mahādibhūta* are taught in the three worlds (29, 5cd). This is *saṅ hyaṅ* Īśwara's boon. Lubdhaka pays homage to the god (29, 6a). He is amazed at the excellent favours from *hyaṅ* Īśwara and the fact that he has received a pure, divine form (*amiśra dewa*), the like of the body (*awak*) of Jagatguru (29, 6c).

Cantos 30, 1 to 35, 1 tell us that after Lubdhaka has obtained all

these wonderful gifts while he knelt at the feet of *Bhaṭāra* Śaṅkara, Yama's army has reported to the latter the defeat they suffered. They inform him that Lubdhaka has been brought by the *wimāna* to the Śiwabhawana.

Yama replies. He is angry, for he has only done what *hyaṇ* Īśa instructed him to do as his duty. If this now turns out to be unnecessary, he will resign. After looking into the matter, he finally hurries to the dwelling of the Mountain Lord (*Giriśa*). He betakes himself through the air with all his chief servants to Śambhu's abode. Thus he comes to the Rudrālaya — a great mountain, a delight to the eye, elevated (*wukir agōṇ rāmya maruhur*). This mountain is called Kailāsa; its beauty is incomparable. On the peak (*puṇcak*) of Kailāsa is the dwelling (*kahanan*) of *hyaṇ* Paśupati. There all the buildings (*weśma*) are constructed of priceless jewels (*ratnānarghya*). It is full of brahmans, *ṛṣi* and *widyādhara* who are all paying homage to the god Trinayana. The lord and his spouse are on the golden throne (*bhaṭāra mwaṇ dewī nira hana rikaṇ meru kanaka*), together with heavenly women who sit behind the daughter of the Lord of Mountains (*i wuri Śailendraduhitā*). Their beauty is like that of the goddess Ratih (Skt. *Rati*), who has adopted the form of the heavenly women (*surawadhū*) out of joy at the sight of the splendour of Rudra's abode.

Yama arrives with his troops and enters the audience-court (*sabhā*). He asks for an explanation. This is given him by the god, addressing him graciously. In the course of this episode in the story Śiwa is called Trinagarāntaka twice. He asks Yama not to persist in his intention to take away Lubdhaka's soul. Śiwa explains this request by telling how the *śabara* has succeeded in reaching the Śiwālaya. Yama then declares his submission at the feet of the god Gaṇendra, and wiping the latter's feet by way of leave-taking departs, amazed to see the change in form of a *śabara* who has become the equal of all the gods (*aścaryām-bēk nira-n ton śabara matēmahan tulya lāwan watēk hyaṇ*, 35, 1d). In a later part of the story Śiwa's abode is called Rudraloka.

The terms listed above from the text for buildings in Śiwa's heaven can perhaps help us to identify the constructions to be seen in Scene 12, while the poet's other statements can be compared with what the painter wished to show us in this scene. Here we must base ourselves on what was represented in Scene 11.

Lubdhaka's soul has been deposited on Mt. Kailāsa by the *wimāna* which, after the battle, is accompanied by the Gaṇa generals. In Scene 11 he has just left the chariot. We see only a wheel of this vehicle.

Lubdhaka is already climbing the stair which leads to the top of the mountain. Out of respect for him (as the painter imagines it) parasols have already been placed on the balustrade. The divine palace on the summit of the mountain apparently reminded the painter of a temple. From the street one goes through a split gate (*caṇḍi bēntar*), thus entering the outer court of the sanctuary, where the important dwellings of the gods are not yet to be found. After that one mounts the steps to the second gate, which is closed on the upper side. This is the *paduraksa* of the temple. It has a door, which has been omitted in the painting. Lubdhaka is standing in front of the door, behind the threshold; this is why his hands and feet cannot be seen. The soul is looking down through the doorway into the innermost (second or third) courtyard, the sacred area set apart for the high gods. In order to enter this he must descend steps which we see in the painting in perspective leading towards us. On either side of the steps *meru* have been depicted, and the temple courtyard which is in this case paved with tiles and ornamented with flower-pots. The problem is now what the function of the two little buildings is in the artist's mind, assuming that he did not put them there just for symmetry's sake, as an indication of Śiwa's heaven in general. The fact that the buildings and other architectural details consist of jewels (in accordance with the text) was perhaps meant to be shown by the various decorative motifs to be seen in Scene 12. A *sabhā* may be a reception hall. This is not intended here. If this was indeed the case we should see in the drawing an open building, such as is already to be found on a relief from *caṇḍi Jago* in East Java. In the text *weśma* (dwellings, buildings) are also made of priceless jewels. The lord and his spouse are in the golden *meru*, as well as the heavenly women, who are seated behind the goddess. The translators have understood *meru kanaka* (golden *meru*) as "golden throne". In this case they would be justified, because on Balinese paintings Śiwa and Umā are mostly seated together on a *padmāsana* (lotus-throne), or on a *sinhāsana* (lion-throne). In Illustration 3 we shall shortly be seeing them receive Lubdhaka's soul in a large, open *bale*. It is hence uncertain whether in this scene the two *meru* should represent the idea of a "golden *meru*" (for Śiwa and the goddess together). If this was the intention, we can produce no proofs for it, as the painter would then have destined a separate residence for the two gods. Generally the most important buildings in this innermost court of the Balinese temple are not so close to the steps as to be found on both sides of them. They mostly stand further off, in the neigh-

bourhood of the surrounding wall at the rear of the courtyard. We have also considered the possibility that Śīwa and his wife might lodge in one of the *meru*, according to the painter, while the second is intended to serve as a residence for Lubdhaka, when he has become in every respect the god's equal after his transformation. This also cannot be proved, now that Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl no longer can enlighten us. We can, however, see from the form in which he depicted Lubdhaka in Scene 12 that according to him the transformation had not yet occurred. Only the hair is somewhat altered, apparently indicating that of a holy man in stylization. Lubdhaka is also unable to wear any divine attire while he is still standing outside the *paduraksa*, because at that stage he has not yet received the mark of favour later extended to him by Śīwa. He could perhaps see the deity in the courtyard from this position, but has not yet met him face to face. This is also the essence of what is found in the poem. In Scene 12 Lubdhaka has not yet been invited by the deity to take his place near him. The painter has achieved something else, though, by means of the placement of Lubdhaka's form high up in the centre of the scene. He is suggesting that a simple *śabara* is on the threshold of reaping the fruits of his good deed on the Night of Śīwa. The place where he is standing in Scene 12 is higher than that of the floor of either *meru*. If this interpretation is correct, the painter cannot have intended the divine couple to be placed in the two buildings — at the most the humbler gods of heaven, to whom Lubdhaka will become similar while exceeding them in importance. Some of the points raised in connection with Scenes 11 and 12 will receive further attention in the interpretation of Scenes 18-20 of Illustration 2b.

With a small adjustment of the words of Canto 38, 2d we should like finally to express the wish that Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl, who because of his death was prevented from receiving a silver medal awarded him for one of his works, has been enabled by making this illustration of the tale of Lubdhaka to achieve what as a brahman he must have looked forward to during his earthly life, namely release from the *kleśa* of his *karma*, and absorption into the Absolute.

ILLUSTRATION 2b ¹⁶

Before the Second World War I came across a modern Balinese pen drawing on paper in the collection of Mr. L. van der Wilk in

¹⁶ See Plate V.

Haarlem. The episodes depicted on it were supplied with captions in Balinese. The artist or someone else had translated them freely into Malay for the owner, who had noted on the translation: "I Loedaka". In view of the fact that I was looking for illustrations of the story of Lubdhaka (who is called I Ludaka in Bali), a photo was made for me by the Photographic Bureau of the Colonial Institute (now called the Royal Tropical Institute). I did not show this item during the address in Leiden, as it appeared to be simply a more extensive version of our Illustration 2a, which was then discussed.

In 1944 the Institute gained possession of the drawing from the estate of Mr. van der Wilk, and then, or after the war, it was registered as Series 1646, 49. The item must have been shown to Mr. C. J. Grader by one of the curators at that time, most probably Mr. P. W. van Milaan. The former provided a transliteration of the captions associated with the scenes. As I discovered, this transliteration is no longer with the drawing. On the relevant card the dimensions are mentioned: width \pm 63 cm. and height 46 cm. In a short description of this work the following information is also included: the drawing in Indian ink on paper consists of four horizontal rows each of five drawings with superscription. The curator furthermore gave a brief summary of the contents of the story, referring to what H. H. Juynboll said about it.¹⁷ Juynboll in turn quotes what Van der Tuuk recorded as a summary of the story: "Title of a *kakawin*, of which the hero is a hunter. He was freed after his death from the hands of Yama's servants by Śiwa's followers, because he had stayed awake the whole night in a *wilwa* tree out of fear for savage animals, and from there had dropped leaves of that tree on a *līṅga* there, so that he fulfilled what one is required to do on *śiwalatri* (cf. Wilson, Works, II, p. 210)." ¹⁸ This summary was adopted by the curator with some minor alteration. He added that the version of the story in the text displays some obscurities and inconsistencies, while referring to Grader's transliteration. Seeing that from 1946 I no longer worked in the Colonial Institute, I only recently became acquainted with the contents of the card on which the curator who described this item also gave an identification of the representation as a whole. He was apparently unaware of the fact that the old *idēr-idēr* (Illustration 1) was to be found in that same Institute, while there was also no reference to Illustration 2a. The various scenes of 2b were not

¹⁷ Juynboll, 1907, p. 157.

¹⁸ Van der Tuuk, 1897-1912, III p. 807.

described or explained separately, which will therefore have to be undertaken below. There is also a note on the card to the effect that a coloured photograph of the drawing was made for Dr. Lokesh Candra of New Delhi. Actually the lines are drawn in black ink, and likewise the frames around the scenes and captions. The former furthermore have a background of grey, applied with diluted ink and brush. Parts of the representation have likewise been marked in with a brush in various tones of grey or black with Indian ink. The original sketch was made in pencil. For the present purpose a new transliteration was kindly made by Mr. J. Soegiarto, while Dr. J. L. Swellengrebel was kind enough to check the translation. Our illustration was made from a new photo provided by the photographic section of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (State Museum for Ethnology) in Leiden, where Illustrations 1, 2a and 3 were also photographed.

Below, the description and an attempt at further explanation of the twenty separate scenes will be preceded by the transliteration and translation of the superscription accompanying each scene.

In the episodes portrayed here the story runs from left to right in each row; only in the case of Scenes 14 and 15 does this order appear to have been altered. Scene 15 will therefore be discussed before Scene 14.

First Row (Scenes 1—5).

Scene 1.

Text: *I Ludakā maṭiguman sarēṇ sapyanak somah sami, ṭradan
pacan maboros kaalase sane lumbrak marginin ipun.*

Translation: Ludaka is having a discussion with his wife and children; he is ready to go hunting in the woods, where he usually goes.

Description: Lubdhaka, on the left, is talking to his wife. Behind her are standing two boys and a girl in front of the closed side of a house of which the wall displays a panel filled with a hexagon. The house stands on a platform (*bḥbataran*) and is roofed with strips of *lalain* fibre. A small basket is hanging from the corner of the roof by a cord; this is probably intended to be a bird-cage. The hunter and his two sons have (in contrast to the wife and daughter) somewhat round, demonic eyes, which probably indicates their evil nature as slaughterers of animals. Two matters demand our attention: the flower which is projecting from Lubdhaka's hair, and the lower tips of the women's

clothing which turn upward. We see the latter also in Scenes 5, 12 and 13, as well as in Scenes 4 and 7 of Illustration 2a. With the exception of Scenes 19 and 20 of this drawing, the background of each (as here) is filled with little clouds (*awon-awon*) placed horizontally. Only in some scenes is the ground on which the figures walk, sit or stand depicted. Sometimes, as for example in Scene 7, these clouds are also placed where they do not belong, namely under the tiger, which is supposed to be standing on the ground under a tree. It is striking that the feet of the hunter, his wife and their daughter disappear below the lower edge of the picture. The reader will observe that this phenomenon sometimes occurs in other scenes of this drawing as well. The same thing occurs in some scenes of Illustration 2a.

Scene 2.

Text: *Kacaritā I Ludaka sāmpun rawuh riñ tñahiñ wanadri; saha gagawan sami, srĕgĕp babaktyane sopacaraniñ maboros.*

Translation: It is told how Ludaka has come into the midst of the forest with his equipment; everything necessary for the hunt he has with him.

Description: The "midst of the forest" is indicated by two trees. The one on the left has the lower part of its trunk emerging from behind an earth-motif (*karañ*) which is constructed in a stylized way. A *paṇḍan puḍak* plant appears from the right of the same motif. Other, longer leaves of a similar shrub can also be seen behind the tree, as well as two flowers with stamens such as also occur on the plant below. This detail would seem to indicate that the flower in Lubdhaka's hair in Scene 1 must represent a *puḍak* flower. The hunter's soul is wearing similar flowers in Scenes 18 and 19. On the right there also stands a tree, partly covered by the large, erect tail of one of the two hunting-dogs which are accompanying the hunter and his son. Lubdhaka has in his right hand a cudgel and in his left a chopper over his shoulder. The son is likewise carrying in his left hand a cudgel which looks somewhat like the hammer of a gong. From his hand there runs a checked rope or chain down to the ground under the dog on the right. It is not a dog-leash, but more likely a rope to tie up the game (it is represented differently in Scene 3). Wherever foliage appears in these scenes it has the same form as in this scene, with the exception of the

wilwa leaves in Scenes 6 and 7 and those of the coconut-palms in Scenes 9 and 13. The lines of the knots in the trunk in this scene look like those in Scenes 5 and 8 of Illustration 2a and those in the drawing of scenes from the "Tantri" by Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl.¹⁹ The reader is also referred to the latter for a variant of the earth-motifs such as also occurs in Scenes 1, 2 and 5 of Illustration 2a. These motifs also occur in other scenes of 2b. This is one of the details in which the artist can give rein to his skill at decoration — this is his strength. It furthermore testifies to a skill in which Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl excels (see the introduction to 2a and 2b) in the drawings which can be ascribed to him with certainty. This is of some importance, seeing that the artist of 2b did not sign his work, and Mr. van der Wilk did not make a note of his name. A further detail, the dogs' tails, can perhaps also be used in the investigation into the identity of the artist of 2b. These are the same dogs' tails which we see in Illustration 2a, Scene 4 and on the hounds of hell in 2b, Scene 15. Scene 2 of 2b may be compared with Scene 1 of 2a. It is striking that in both cases the hunter's jacket — which we observed in Illustration 1 (the *idër-idër*, in imitation of the *kakawin*) — is missing here. Furthermore, neither in 2a nor in 2b are a bow and arrow represented as equipment for the hunt (as they are in the *kakawin*). In the text accompanying Scene 2 (of 2b) there is no separate mention made of a companion or hunting-dogs. Apparently they pertain as a matter of course to "everything necessary for the hunt."

Scene 3.

Text: *Sawireh pamarginipune I Ludakā bcik, nawinan srin-srin ipun pelih (read polih?) paburuan, lwire bawri, kidan, miwah lyan-lyanan.*

Translation: Because the journey of Ludaka goes very well, he always carries with him what he has caught, such as wild boar, deer, and so on.

Description: On the left stands a man who is probably Lubdhaka, and on the right one of the hunter's sons or a companion. They are looking at each other. Together they are holding a carrying-pole over their shoulders — Lubdhaka is holding it with his left and the companion with his right hand. Both of them are carrying matchets. Something which must represent a wild pig is hanging from two cords

¹⁹ Reproduced in Goris and Dronkers, p. 505.

wound around the pole — this is the *bawi* of the text. In Scene 2 of 2a we saw the hunter and two sons or companions transporting a snake on a *pikulan*. In the third scene of 2b the clothing of the son or companion is portrayed differently from the first and second, where it looks more like what we see on the hunters in 2a. In the lower part of the scene the dots indicate the ground, and the little plants indicate tufts of grass. Here and there *paṇḍan puḍak* plants have been portrayed, as, for example, on the right, next to an earth-motif which bears a rosette. Behind this motif there stands a tree. In the background is a series of tufts in a horizontal position, enclosed by low dikes. Perhaps this indicates a path or a stylized rice-field — see Scene 2 of 2a.

Scene 4.

Text: *Kacrita ipun I Lubdhakā sarēṇ sapyanak somah sami, eñcon makaryya jajaṇan sakiṇ olih-oliḥan maboros.*

Translation: It is told how Lubdhaka is with his wife and children, busily making sauce from what he has caught.

Description: The phrase “with his wife and children” probably means that the artist intends Lubdhaka to be at home. His family is not present in this scene but in the next, which is also located in his yard (*pēkarāṇan*). The hunter has in his right hand an object which resembles a kind of short club. It is probably intended to be either a short pestle (*pēṇulakan*) (although such an instrument is curved at the end in Bali) or a thick, wooden stirring-spoon. He is bent over a large, open pot of earthenware, to some degree comparable with the Balinese *pane*. This is standing on the neck of a large, earthen vat, which is perhaps supposed to represent a Balinese *dandaṇ*. This kind of kitchen utensil is also to be seen in Scene 3 of 2a.²⁰ On the right we see a large wooden pestle; in Scene 3 of 2a a similar instrument is being used for pounding the snake-meat in an open pot. In this instance a rice-pounder is probably not intended. Part of a broom is also visible; the idea is probably to use this for removing from the yard the scraps after preparing the food.²¹ On the left is to be found an object resembling a large stone platform on a stylized base decorated with spirals. This platform is

²⁰ Covarrubias, 1937, photo “Sweet drinks of crushed leaves are popular in the markets”. Cf. also Goris and Dronkers, photos 220 and 222.

²¹ Covarrubias, 1937, gives a photo called “bridegroom and his bride stirring the symbolic wedding meal”, in which a stirring-spoon of a somewhat different shape is seen.

decorated with a panel filled with flower-motifs on the side facing us. On its right-hand side is a handle; this indicates that the "platform" represents a wooden chopping-block (Bal. *talanan*) such as is also to be seen in Scene 3 of 2a, where the snake-meat was being cut into pieces. Seeing that this has not yet happened with the chunk of meat in this scene, Lubdhaka is apparently engaged in preparing a fragrant, tasty sauce in the open pot, to be mixed later with pieces of pork. For this purpose (as the Balinese see it) coconut milk is probably already in the pot; in this the pieces of pork will be cooked.²² The term *jajanan* from the text probably refers to this sauce mixed with spices. In the background is part of the house. One of the two beams on the underside of the eaves is decorated with spiral motifs. It could be that with this decoration a kind of *iděr-iděr* is intended, attached to the beam (*lambañ* is the term for this given to me in Bali; for the plain beam under that the term *suliñ-suliñ* was given). The surface of the roof (*rahab*) has in this instance been left bare; in reality this would mean a roof of stone or masonry.

Scene 5.

Text: *I Ludakā sapyanak somah sami, sděñ mawirya-wirya, sawireh jajanan sane karyanin ipun inuni sampuput sami, saha ambu ñañluh.*

Translation: Ludaka with his wife and children, engaged in amusing themselves, as the sauce which he has made is said to be ready, and its smell is inviting.

Description: Bending forward, the hunter is rubbing his hands together with delight, now that he is about to enjoy the meal he has prepared. In the accompanying Malay translation (made in Bali for Mr. van der Wilk), there is also mention of drink in the joyful anticipation of eating (... *makan dan minum*). If drinking was indeed intended here, the artist will have thought of it as consisting of *tuak* or *brēm* — in that case Lubdhaka is literally drunk with joy. He is looking down at one of his little sons who, elated with joy, is jumping up and waving his right arm in the air. The mother is trying to moderate the child's merriment. She is stroking his neck and head. A second boy is also mad with delight, and is also throwing his right arm up. A big brother is holding his head and is pointing with his right hand at the first boy.

²² Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 106-109.

In the background there is a roof, drawn from a bird's eye view, covered with rows of *lalan* strips or with strips of *aren* fibre (*ijuk*). On the left it is held up by one post. On the right we see something which is supposed to represent a wooden screen (*parbē*). In Bali roofs on two posts are seen in *sawah* (rice-fields), along roads or in yards of houses. The term given me there for this was *kubu*. Perhaps the lean-to roof of a kitchen (*paon*) is meant in this case. The wooden screen stands behind a raised floor or platform (*bēbataran*) of stone, decorated with a panel filled with a hexagon. In the top right-hand corner part of a tree can be seen. There is also a tree on the left; its base disappears behind a stylized earth-motif from which sprout sun-flowers, such as are sometimes depicted on traditional Balinese astrological calendars (*palintanian* or *palalintanian*) with the zodiacal sign of the sun.

Second Row (Scenes 6—10).

Scene 6.

Text: *Nampĕk riñ gnah I Ludakā maboros, wentĕn danu kalintan ěniñ toyanipun, saha ñandin taru bila asiki.*

Translation: Now we see the place where Ludaka is hunting; there is a lake with very clear water, and on the bank stands a bael tree.

Description: Around the lake, in which fish are swimming, a bank has been indicated, with behind it a strip of earth (filled with dots and tufts of grass) and large, irregular stones. A heron is standing on the bank of the lake. Although it is not wearing a hermit's cap we cannot help thinking of the picture of the hypocritical heron, the fish and the crab in illustrations of the Tantri story which is so popular in Bali. This heron by the lake is a cliché in Balinese art. In the lower left-hand corner another stylized earth-motif has been drawn, with behind it a tree entwined by a creeper as well as large and small leaves of a *pañdan* bush. At the upper right we see a tuft of leaves belonging to a tree which is seen in the next scene, namely the *wilwa* tree (text: *taru bila*; Jav. *maja*). Several trifoliate leaves of this tree, with *wilwa* fruits on a branch, have been drawn at the top of this scene in the centre.

Scene 7.

Text: *Kacrita I Ludakā pulĕs riñ taru bilane, saha niulunān daunipun asiki-siki, sakin nĕmbenin wni, ñantos rahina.*

Translation: It is told how Ludaka sleeps in the bael tree, and drops the leaves one by one, from the beginning of the night, until daylight.

Description: In contrast to what we saw in Scene 5 of 2a, where Lubdhaka was lying on his stomach in the *wilwa* tree while he was shaking a branch bearing *wilwa* leaves, he is here lying on his back. The artist has omitted to provide his clothing (except the tail, which runs from his belt and between his legs) with textile motifs. His hands are not shaking the branches, but even so the leaves are falling to the left and right of the striped tiger looking up at Lubdhaka which we also saw in Scene 5 of 2a. The tree displays a kind of leaf which we saw in the previous scene. The *wilwa* fruits are also present in order to typify the tree. Cloud motifs have been depicted (in this case by mistake) under the feet of the tiger, which is here a symbol of the wild animals against which Lubdhaka attempts to defend himself by seeking a refuge in the branches during the night hours. The stylized earth-motif under the tree in Scene 5 of 2a is also to be seen here, although in an altered form, where the earth lines are adorned with a one-eyed monster-head (*karaṇ bintulu*). We see no lake in this scene. In the text the word *danu* has not been mentioned again, although the branch of the tree is intended to hang down over the lake, as is to be seen in the previous scene. Hence Scene 7 has to be seen in connection with Scene 6 — as well as with Scene 8, as we shall see. Scenes 6 and 7 are combined into Scene 5 of 2a, where the leaves of the *wilwa* tree are represented in the same way as in this Scene 7; see also Scene 5 of 2a.

Scene 8.

Text: *Nampĕk riṇ I Ludaka pulĕs riṇ taru bilane, wentĕn baṭāra Śiwa ri sĕḍĕṇ ṇewalatri, kasandiṇ antuk danu sane toyan ṇane hniṇ.*

Translation: We see Ludaka sleeping in the bael tree; there is the lord Śiwa during his observance of the Śiwarātri on the bank of the lake of which the water is very clear.

Description: It is clear from the superscription that we must take this scene (where Lubdhaka does not appear) with the preceding, where Lubdhaka is lying in the tree. From the text relating to this scene it appears that in Scene 7 the hunter was asleep in the tree, which is contrary to the aim of the story in the *kakawin*, seeing that there it is

precisely his remaining awake which will later on give him great religious merit. Nevertheless the text of Scene 7 says that the leaves were dropped "one by one" — which Lubdhaka could not do while asleep. Although the artist did understand the point of the story, it seems that he overlooked it in this superscription (applying partially to the previous scene). In the caption to Scene 8 there is reference to the bank of the lake, which does in fact occur again in the illustration. This time there are no fish in the water. The bank is sketched in, with the earth indicated by dots and tufts of grass. At the lower right we see a stylized earth-motif, decorated with a *karañ bintulu*. Above it is a tree (not a *wilwa* tree), with *pañdan* leaves behind it, as can also be seen in Scene 5 of 2a. From behind the middle of the trunk the handle of a parasol appears; this is intended as a token of respect for a god with two arms sitting on a raised structure of cemented masonry (with decorated edge) to the left of the earth-motif. This probably represents Śiwa, although this deity is mostly portrayed with four arms in Bali. The god is depicted with a gesture of the hands which indicates speech. Most probably it is the intention that Śiwa is here saying prayers, without folding his hands in a *sēmbah*. According to the accompanying caption, he is here engaged in the ritual in honour of the Śiwarātri. In agreement with this we see on the left, standing on a platform again consisting of mortared stones with decorated edge, the double base of a shrine. The second base (which, like the first, is built of bricks) has a projection or decoration, intended by the artist to be made of tuff stone (*paras*), placed against it. Whether the chamber is intended to be constructed of wood or stone is unclear. On the side facing us we observe a door or a niche (which would point to stone as material) in which a bottle has been placed, intended as a pot of holy water. The shrine has three roofs (*tumpañ*) covered with *aren* fibre (*ijuk*), and two intermediate supporting sections. In the masonry platform there stands a curved stick, slanting across the scene, with a pennant hanging from the tip in a wavy line. The latter is a combination of a *pēnyor* and the flag of a so-called *umbul-umbul*, which one encounters in Bali in streets, temples or yards on religious feast days. Behind the shrine another tree can be seen. Perhaps the building is intended to be a kind of *meru*.²³ Śiwa is here not sitting on a lotus-cushion, as he does in Scene 5, 2a. The said lotus was there located on a lake or water with

²³ See Covarrubias, 1937, the sketch entitled "A Typical Balinese Temple", opp. p. 266.

a bank which is constructed in the same way as in this scene, of stones set in cement. It seems as if the same artist was at work here; we see the same technique in Scene 11, 2a and in Scene 17, 2b. Just as in Scene 5, 2a, and on the *idër-idër*, no account was taken here of the text of the *kakawin*, where *wilwa* leaves are referred to as being dropped on a lingga under the branch of the tree in the lake. This lingga was not made by human hands — the most sacred Indian *svayambhū-lingga* (OJ *lingga nora ginawe*). If the same artist was indeed at work here as the one who made Illustration 2a, then we must assume that in Scene 5 of 2a Śīwa is also engaged in his own Śīwarātri ritual. The above-mentioned Malay translation of the text attached to Scene 8 says with reference to the god: *Dewa Siwa bertapa* (The god Śīwa performing asceticism).

Scene 9.

Text: *Kacrita sane mankin I Ludaka tan wentën polih maboros nantos di budalipune sakin alas tan makta napi.*

Translation: We are told that now Ludaka has caught no game, so that on his return from the wood he brings nothing with him.

Description: In the centre of the scene there stands a gigantic *paṇḍan* bush on a stylized triple earth-motif, of which the central part bears a rosette as decoration. For the placement of the bush in the middle of the scene and the earth-motif under it one may compare Scene 2 of 2a, where a variation of the same details can be seen. On the left and right of the *karañ* we see a hunter with his son or a companion. Together they are carrying a pole over their shoulders, but without ropes or catch. Their right hands are raised above their heads as a sign of despair. This gesture may also indicate that they are calling to the inhabitants of a house which they are approaching from the wood. As an indication of the fact that they are near home we see on right and left, behind sections of the earth-motif, coconut palms. The vegetation in this scene has a strongly decorative character. The handle of a matchet can be seen in the belt of the hunter on the left; his companion or son is carrying a similar implement in his left hand. Western perspective is ignored in this scene: the pole has been placed behind the *paṇḍan*, while the left foot of the bearer on the left (as far as can be seen) is located in front of a piece of the earth-motif.

Scene 10.

Text: *Sane mankin I Ludaka sakit bañēt, srahinā nandañ sdih, ěñkak-ěñkak, tur srin-srin karěrēh leyak, ri gnahipune nandañ sakit.*

Translation: Now Ludaka is very ill — all day he suffers pain, groaning, and is constantly visited by werewolves, in the place where he is lying ill.

Description: Lubdhaka, who according to the accompanying caption is very ill and is lying groaning, is here not (as in Scene 4 of Ill. 1 and Scene 6 of 2a) in a bedroom, but in the yard of his home, where he has been laid on a bench. In the way of clothing he has only a plain garment to the knee. A piece of white cloth is hanging over his body to the ground — one might compare with this the white cloth in Scene 6 of 2a. Three objects, the identification of which is not easy, have been drawn under the bench. Their shape is somewhat reminiscent of cages for cocks, such as are often seen in yards. But against this is the fact that one sees no open basket-work, and furthermore one cannot make out on the top of these shapes the handle which belongs on such cages, but rather something which looks like the neck of a pot or fat jar. I have not, however, seen pots of this shape in Bali. One might also think of a kitchen utensil, namely lids (*kěkěb*).²⁴ In this connection we could think of foods, hidden from view by these lids. In the *kakawin* (Canto 9, 2b and 2c) the fact is mentioned that the patient has no appetite. There is also the possibility that schematically drawn pots or jars of medicine are intended here, seeing that in Canto 9, 2a it is said that there is no medicine (*jampi*) to relieve his pain. Hence we might wonder whether the object at the foot of the post on the far left in Scene 6 of 2a, which in the description we regarded as a stone block, might not also represent such a vat or bottle for a liquid medicine. In the same Illustration (Scene 4) we see what must be a genuine block; there this *sěṇḍi* is dark. Smaller, light coloured stone blocks are to be seen in Scene 12, 2a. Since, however, in Illustration 2a real blocks do not display a narrow neck at the top, we might well have a pot of water or medicine in the lower left-hand corner of Scene 6, placed under the bed in the sick man's room. This would lead to the conclusion that in Scene 10 of 2b pots of water (to assuage the thirst brought on by fever)

²⁴ See Covarrubias, 1937, p. 98, "clay cover".

or filled with liquid medicine are intended. To the right of the bench is part of a closed house, of which the roof can be compared with that in Scene 4. The foundation is decorated with a hexagon filled with a rosette. The two baskets hanging on a string from the eaves are probably bird-cages, as in Scene 1. Seeing that according to the caption the hunter has not yet died we need not consider the representation of a lamp contained in basket-work which in Bali is hung in front of the house after a death to accompany the deceased to the hereafter. I am referring to the *damar kurun*.²⁵ A demonic creature with long hair hanging down its back and projecting in spikes above the forehead is standing in a dancing posture (which is typical for this kind of creature) pointing threateningly at the sick man. The left hand has long nails on the little finger and thumb, and the right index finger has a long, pointed nail. To the left of this demon there rises a tree from a partially visible earth-motif. Above the sick man there hovers a so-called "fire-head", called in Bali *kala gēni*, *agnimukha*, or (in astrological calendars) *dēpat*. Both of these creatures must represent the "werewolves" (*leyak*) mentioned in the caption. Here they are demonic beings which bring about sickness and can be compared with the pair of *leyak* which appeared in Scene 6 of 2a, portrayed there against the roof in the posture of flying. This kind of creature often occurs in scenes which are set in cemeteries. The cemetery ghosts are mentioned in literature in, for example, the poem *Sudamala* and in the *gēguritan* Men Brayut.²⁶

Third Row (Scenes 11—15).

Scene 11.

Text: *Baṅkenipune I Ludakā kabakta kasma, kahatēh antuk pyanak somah sami, kalih kadañ warganipun, saha tatanisan.*

Translation: The body of Ludaka is brought to the cemetery, accompanied by his wife and children, with the family and relatives, amid weeping.

Description: Two men are carrying a bier on which there lies Lubdhaka's body wrapped in a *rurub kajan*. Over the shroud there

²⁵ See Wirz, 1928, pl. 5, p. 29; in such an instance there is only one lamp and of a different shape.

²⁶ See also Scene 6 of 2a and Scene 4 of 1, as well as the flaming head in Scene 5 of 1.

hang six strips of worked material (cf. Scene 7, 2a). According to the caption they are on their way to the cemetery, in this case followed by six boys whose hair projects backward in a tuft. The wife is not present, as she was in Scene 7 of 2a. We cannot determine who these relatives and members of the family are. The feet of the rear bearer are placed in front of an earth-motif. Behind this a tree has been drawn. In the sky above the bier hovers a bird with a pointed beak. Possibly we have here the bird which accompanies the soul to the land of the dead. (See Scene 5, Illustration 1). One might compare the boys' clothing with that in Scenes 1, 2 and 4 and that of the hunter's male relatives in Ill. 2a. Through the midst of the scene there runs a path downward from right to left with tufts of grass on either side. According to the *kakawin* the path runs along the mountain ridge to the cemetery (in the plain).

Scene 12.

Text: *Gnahipune I Ludaka matanēm riñ kubur, mañcaksaji masangah cukcuk, nampĕk riñ rajapati, kasdihin antuk pyanak somah sami.*

Translation: The place where Ludaka is buried in the grave has a fence and a shrine on a pole, ... (?), lamented by his wife and children.

Description: Lubdhaka's body has been buried. The grave has been filled. The ground has been raked over and sprinkled with flowers. This is what the artist intended to depict on the lower left. The grave, refilled with earth, has a border. Behind the border tufts of grass can be seen (in this case flowers?). On the upper side of the border of the grave stands a shrine for offerings on a post. It has a "tent" roof, with a panel on the side. The front is open, and from it a *lamak* hangs down. A comparable shrine — without a roof, but also with a *lamak* hanging down — has already been seen in Scene 8 of 2a. In the present illustration this shrine, according to the text, must represent the *saṅgah cukcuk* of the caption. Other Balinese variants of the term are *saṅgah cĕrukuk* and *saṅgah prucuk*.²⁷ As we observed with regard to Scene 8 of 2a, such a shrine in a cemetery may be intended for Prajāpati. This is a name for Brahma, who can be equated with Agni, and as such is the god of cremation. In the accompanying caption the word *rajapati*

²⁷ See, for example, Goris and Dronkers, photo 207, description on p. 180.

(not translated above) may stand for *mrajapati*. This word, spelt *mē-radjā pati* in the Malay translation, is there placed between brackets after the words "*poera koeboeran*", with which the Balinese term *pura dalēm* (Temple of Death) has apparently been translated. In the Malay translation the shrine is called a *saṅgah cucuk*, which stands near the *pura kuburan*.

Behind the shrine the artist has intended there to stand a fence of woven bamboo, supported on the right by a pole. This illustrates the *añcaksaji* mentioned in the text.²⁸ For *mañcaksaji* the Malay translation has *bērpagar* ("with a fence"). The base of the tree-trunk on the left disappears behind the fence. It is uncertain whether the cemetery-tree (the *kayu kēpuh*, kapok tree) is meant here. In another publication I hope to discuss such a cemetery-tree of leather from the Balinese *wayan kulit*.

To the right there stand the wife of the deceased, her daughter and eldest son or male relative mourning before the grave, as the posture of their body and the gesture of their hands indicate. They are weeping, the caption says. Behind them we see the side of a flight of steps, the bottom part of which consists of a platform filled with a hexagonal panel decorated with flowers and triangles (*tumpal*), while the top consists of a *naga* with a crown as top of the actual wing of the steps. If the steps are intended as those of a temple, we have a *pura dalēm*. In Scene 8 of 2a, however, there is a sort of low Sūrya seat (*padmasana*) in the neighbourhood of the grave and the shrine. It is therefore possible that the artist here likewise intended the decoration of such a *padmasana* (cf. what was said on this in Scene 8, 2a). There one sees a white bottle, meant as a jar of holy water, standing on the seat of the *padmasana*. Perhaps the grave has to be sprinkled with holy water in due time; this is probably the meaning of the term *nampĕk*, left untranslated above. In this scene, however, the jar of holy water is absent, unless we might assume that the serpent's head serves as a spout, but we see no water pouring from it. A *naga* can, on the other hand, be taken as a reptile which according to a well known story tasted of the holy water after the churning of the ocean. Hence, as is known, such a *naga* is often used as spout for a *yoni*. If a construction such as we see in Scene 8, 2a (in the background) stood on a high, narrow pedestal, the term *tugu* could also be used for it in Bali (note from North Bali, 1933).

²⁸ A similar fence is to be seen in Wirz, 1928, pl. 40.

Scene 13.

Text: *Sasampune pādēm I Ludakā, kantun somah riñ pyana-
kipun sdih masasambatan rahina wñi, antuk kasañsaran
manahipune.*

Translation: After Ludaka has died his wife is left alone with the children sorrowfully wailing day and night because of their grief.

Description: In this instance there are four children — two boys and two girls — the latter wearing a comb in their hair. Wailing according to the text, they are extending their hands toward the mother, standing in a bent posture. The widow is holding her arms out in front of her, as if to comfort her offspring in their sorrow. Here, in contrast to what we saw in the first scene, she has (apart from the chignon which she also wore there) her hair hanging loose down her back, perhaps meant as a sign of mourning. On the left is a stylized earth-motif, decorated with a *karan bintulu*. Behind it is a *pañdan* bush and a tree, and in the far background two coconut palms, such as we encountered in Scene 9 in the vicinity of a dwelling.

Scene 15.

Text: *Buta-buti tañkil riñ bañara Yama, saha ñeka paçañ ñlarañ
yudña riñ sami bañarā riñ swargan, praya añrēbut atmani-
pune I Ludaka, sami sayos parna.*

Translation: The demons appear before the lord Yama and lay plans for joining battle with the gods in heaven, with the intention of securing Ludaka's soul, each one with a different idea (?).

Description: Seeing that the demons are called up here and are despatched by Yama in Scene 14, we have allowed the description of Scene 15 to precede that of 14. What can be seen here in Scene 15 must, we suppose, also have been present on the now lost (having been cut off) right-hand end of the *idēr-idēr* (Illustration 1). Yama has one leg raised in a demonic manner in a dancing posture, like the *leyak* in Scene 10. The servants of hell are here called *buta-buti*, in contrast to their appellation in the *kakawin*. Here there are three of them. It is uncertain whether we may use data from the poem *Bhīmaswarga* — where apart from the clerk of the god of death two other prominent

servants are mentioned — for naming them. The *buta* on the right is stooping, looking at the ground, with his right hand extended downward and his left held against his side. He has a long snout, folds at the back of his neck, but does not have demonic eyes. He has a cord over his shoulders, crossing over on his chest. The hellish creature in front of him is depicted in a dancing posture, and a tongue is projecting from a mouth with large front teeth. In his right hand he is holding the handle of a long stabbing instrument pointing backwards. He has a large, bulbous nose. His colleague in front of him has a bulging forehead, and a tongue sticking out of his mouth. A long, pointed tusk appears on the right side of his physiognomy. He is conversing with Yama, behind whom there is a parasol with a fringe, attached to a bent stick the bottom of which is covered by a small earth-motif. On the right a tree is drawn, appearing from an earth-motif which is decorated with a rosette. The reader is referred to what was said concerning the despatch of the demons in the explanation of the *idĕr-idĕr*.

Scene 14.

Text: *Sakañcan buta-buti riñ swargan, kautus riñ ida baṭara
Yama, paçañ mañjĕrĕk atmanipune I Ludakā, wireh
iwañ pamargi.*

Translation: All the demons in heaven are despatched by the lord Yama, in order to finish off the soul of Ludaka, as his conduct has been evil.

Description: Two demons are on their way (according to the *kakawin* through the sky) to seize Lubdhaka's soul and chastise it, before bringing it (according to the *kakawin*) to Yama's abode, having bound it. The third *buta* is still kneeling next to a tree, in front of which a stylized earth-motif with rosette decoration has been drawn. He again has a huge, upward-pointing nose, and tusks. His tongue is projecting from his mouth. Here this third figure does have demonic eyes. He is, however, in contrast to his fellows — who are now likewise wearing a cord over their shoulders and across the chest — not armed with a matchet, which the demon on the left has in his right and the one in the centre in his left hand. The hair of the two standing demons deviates from that of the other *buta* depicted so far. This arrangement will be encountered again in Scenes 16 (and 17) on two demonic servants. It corresponds with what can be seen in Scene 9 of 2a. In older Balinese

paintings, too, one finds this type of hair sticking out on either side, as well as in older Javanese art and the art of the Khmers. Although in a very abbreviated form, we see here the procession of demons of the *iděr-iděr*.

Fourth Row (Scenes 16—20).

Scene 16.

Text: *Atmanipune I Ludaka karĕjĕk kapuntañ-pantiñ rin sami kañcan balan bhaṭara Yama, wirehipun, kabawos mamati-mati.*

Translation: The soul of Ludaka is seized and beaten back and forth by all the troops of the lord Yama; the reason for this is that he is said to have killed again and again.

Description: The word *mamati-mati* must in the context of the story refer to the killing of animals. As is known a special punishment is mentioned in the *Bhīmaswarga* for hunters. Having in the meantime been found by the demons (according to the *kakawin* at a certain point in the sky), the hunter's soul is here represented in a backward inclining position. A rope has been put around him, attached at the upper right to a thick post slanting diagonally across the scene. On the right there stands a tree with a stylized earth-motif below it. In front of the latter we see the hind quarters and raised tail of what in the context doubtless represents one of the hounds of hell. Its head and front legs are hidden by one of Yama's followers, who is lifting the soul's left arm and is holding up its left leg under the knee, so that the soul falls over backwards. Behind the soul there stands another of Yama's soldiers with knives in his hands. Both of these weapons are pointed at the back of the soul's head. A third *buta*, again with a long snout (cf. Scenes 14 and 15) and projecting tongue but without the hair bristling to right and left, is squatting on the ground with his left arm around the neck of the tortured soul and holding in his right hand a large matchet with the convex side against his victim's middle. One can compare the postures of the three demons and of the soul in Scene 9 of 2a; there he is on the point of being cast into the cauldron (in contrast to what actually happens in the *kakawin*). It is uncertain what exactly is intended with the post and the rope in this scene. The post is reminiscent of a bridge in hell, which in scenes from hell serves to throw the souls off so that they fall into the fire (this is called *titi goṅgañ* or *wot ugal-*

agi). But in such cases, as frequently portrayed in traditional Balinese paintings, a rope cannot be detected, while here there is no sign of a fire. Another punishment depicted in the aforesaid scenes from hell consists of binding souls to a tree-trunk or post. It is, however, not certain whether this is meant here, seeing that the post is not in a horizontal, but in a diagonal position. Perhaps the binding of the soul with ropes (as is mentioned in the *kakawin* and can be seen on the *idēr-idēr*) has played a part in the depiction. It is as if the soul is here being swung back and forth, while being worked on with weapons — perhaps this is the idea, in view of the expressions *karējĕk* and *kapuntan-pantiñ* in the accompanying caption. It is strange that the sitting demon is in this instance not wearing a cord around his shoulders and chest (see Scenes 14 and 15).

Scene 17.

Text: *Bhaṭara Yama kabawos iwan ñlakṣaṇayan sapakahyun kawon riñ I Ludaka, ñraris masatsat, mwastu kawon bhaṭara Yama riñ baṭara Śiwa.*

Translation: The god Yama is said to be wrong in carrying out his evil intentions on Ludaka; he is quickly cursed (?), with the result that he submits to the god Śiwa.

Description: According to the caption, Yama is here supposed to be kneeling in a submissive posture before Śiwa, having been cursed by him. But as we know from the *kakawin*, there is no question of Yama's being cursed by Śiwa, but the Lord of Hell, asking for an explanation, has his attention drawn by Śiwa to the fact that Lubdhaka has earned great merit through (unconsciously) performing the ritual required on the Śīwarātri. Our artist must undoubtedly have been following another version, or, with regard to his text, have given his own interpretation of what he may have seen in other Lubdhaka illustrations. Yama is kneeling on the left-hand side, and behind him is one of his own servants, also depicted in a posture of submission to Śiwa. Śiwa himself is standing on a decorated platform. Here too he is given but two arms, in contrast to the number in Scene 10 of 2a, where roughly the same episode of the story (without the demon servant, but with Lubdhaka's soul) is portrayed, although Yama is standing there. Śiwa is extending his right hand in a threatening gesture toward Yama. Behind the former the platform is raised into a structure with mortared stones and decorated

border. On top of it a stylized earth-motif has been placed behind which a tree is growing, flanked by *paṇḍan* leaves.

Scene 18.

Text: *Sawireh sāmṇun kabawos bcik palalaksanayanipun I
Ludakā raris ipun kicen gēnah bcik riñ ida bhaṭara Śiwa.*

Translation: Because it is said that Ludaka's achievements are good, he soon receives a good position from the god Śiwa.

Description: According to the accompanying caption, the position of Śiwa's arms should indicate a favour toward Lubdhaka's soul. The latter has its hands folded, and respectfully held out, as if to receive that favour or pay honour to the god. We shall be able to treat this episode more fully in our discussion of Illustration 3. As if to emphasize his favour Śiwa is in the act of rising from the floor of what probably represents a stylized *padmasana*. The god has two hands. The *padmasana* consists of a base with a dark edge. The object in front of it (toward the viewer of the picture) cannot be identified with any certainty. It looks like a large, open dish placed on a triple base. But perhaps it is meant as decoration of the side of the platform. If a dish is intended it probably contains holy water, for example for washing the feet of the guest or to purify the soul. On top of the platform we see a superstructure bearing mouldings and a central panel decorated with a spiral motif. What in actual fact is the back of the *padmasana* (such as those on Surya seats) is here represented by a hollow niche curving forward at the top, with beside it, in a slanting position, the handle of a parasol with a fringe, set up as a mark of honour to the deity. It should be noted that Lubdhaka's soul is here again wearing a large *paṇḍan* flower in his hair (cf. the flowers in Scenes 1 and 2). The stamens can also be seen on the *paṇḍan* bush on top of the right-hand part of the stylized earth-motif on the left, the centre of which (under a tree with a creeper growing around it) is decorated with a rosette.

Scene 19.

Text: *Pamarginipun I Ludaka pacan kaswargan, ñujur gnah
sane bcik, sakiñ waranugraha sami baṭara riñ swargan,
pamucuk bhaṭara Śiwa.*

Translation: Ludaka's journey takes him to heaven, heading straight for the good place granted through the favour of the gods in heaven, in the first place the god Śiwa.

Description: According to the *kakawin* it is only Śiwa who grants the favour. The road to heaven (*swarga*) is represented here as a stair such as is used at cremations, where it is placed against the cremation tower while, as is evident from an East Javanese relief of Caṇḍi Jago as well as from old Balinese paintings, it formerly also served in Bali for the burning of widows. The term for such a stair is *tragtag*. Many of them can be seen depicted (in such books as that of Wirz mentioned above) as they occur in actual fact in cremation ceremonies. On seeing this stair one is immediately reminded of a similar structure in Scene 11 of 2a where some details, namely the underside, are portrayed differently. Here the structure is standing on poles as in reality, but between the poles semicircular shapes are to be seen as well as spiral motifs which in this case serve simply as decorative filling. Here too the stair has a railing, reinforced (as in reality) by bamboo posts. The top of the railing displays a decoration of hanging strips of leaf (as is sometimes seen in real life). Over the railing there stand on sticks objects which look like little sunshades. Lubdhaka's soul is here standing on the stair and is pointing ahead with the left hand. His position in relation to the stair here corresponds better with actuality than was the case in Scene 11 of 2a — there the soul is standing on the railing. In that scene too, however, small knobs can be seen over the railing. The parasols of Scene 19 (2b) are also present in Scene 11 of 2a, as a token of respect for Lubdhaka's soul. In reality parasols do sometimes occur on the stairs of cremation towers. The soul's hair arrangement in this scene displays in front two points which look like the tips of a kerchief, something which we have not so far encountered in this Illustration. The flower in the hair is again to be found in this scene. In Illustration 3 we shall see that after he has arrived in heaven, the soul, according to the *kakawin*, receives from Śiwa a divine form as favour. There is no sign of this here. At the top left some lines with shadows can be seen, apparently indicating clouds heavy with rain (*mega mēndui*). The usual wisps of cloud such as we found in other scenes do not occur here or in the next scene. In their stead we see, in combination with the heavy rain-clouds, little circles and thin wavy lines which taper to a point at each end. The circles probably do not indicate stars, but rather rain-drops, such as those of a gentle spring rain. Something of the kind is

described in Canto 8, 5b: . . . *tumiba-n riris saha gērēhnya* (gentle rain fell together with thunder). In 8,5c there is mention of the *larap niñ kilat hirin in gaganatala ri tira niñ rēmōn* (flash of lightning low in the sky on the edge of a dark raincloud). In this case the flickering of the lightning (in 8, 5d) is compared to the *kiñcan in halis in adyah* (quiver of a girl's eyebrows). In Canto 32, 3b it is observed that the *lunid-lunid ikan halis salunid in karan arēja* (line of her eyebrows was beautiful and sharp as a reef). With this *karan* stylized rock-motifs may be intended, which in some paintings indeed resemble eyebrows. In Canto 3, 10b there is reference to *rērēb-rērēbnya sumaput-saput awētu riris riñ ambara* (soft clouds covering the sky and bringing forth a gentle rain). These passages could perhaps indicate that in Scenes 19 and 20 the wavy lines represent either flashes of lightning (*larap*) or wisps of light cloud which accompany the *riris* of 3, 10b. The cooling effect of the spring rains which is coupled with shafts of lightning darting out of dark clouds is perhaps intended here to suggest the release of the soul at its arrival in heaven. In Javanese *kakawin* flashes of lightning are also sometimes compared with snakes (see also Scene 11, 2a).

Scene 20.

Translation: *Pakantēnan I Ludakā sampun ni mcak swargan, mamangihin gnah sarwa endah wireh plaksanayanipun lintan ayu, sakin waranugrahan ida batara Siwā.*

Text: This shows how Ludaka has reached heaven and has found a splendid place because of his exceedingly good deeds, through the grace of the lord Śiwa.

Description: A closed stone (gold is probably meant) building is standing on a foundation consisting of three steps. The side of the room or of the temple cella (for it is a kind of *gēdon*) has a rectangular panel decorated with spiral motifs. The building has three roofs, covered with *aren* fibre (*ijuk*) between which can be seen two partitions acting as supporting sections. At each end these partitions end in up-turned tiles which in Bali bear the technical names *gēgodeg* or *pēpayasan tarib*. A reversed pot can be seen as top-piece. For this there are various terms in Bali: *pēpocoñ*, *sinēb* or *mēnur*. On a *meru* such a top is sometimes called *liṅga*. They are made of baked clay and are sometimes richly ornamented. They also occurred in ancient Java, as products of

the *kulāla* (potters). In my doctoral thesis (*Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche tempelreliefs*, Leiden, 1936) I gave illustrations of many of them, also mentioning there the Javanese technique for making them. In this case the top is decorated with a border and two side-pieces which turn upwards. Lubdhaka's purified soul is to be seen mounting the lowest step. In front of the building there stands a kind of jar, intended as a container for holy water. It is uncertain whether above the neck the jar has a top or whether a separate bowl has been put over the opening. In any case the upper side of the vase has an adornment which cannot be positively identified; it appears to consist of a black half bulb with, if I am not mistaken, erect stamens (see the stamens in Scene 18 and those on the flowers in Scene 2, or those in Lubdhaka's hair in, e.g., Scene 18). If in fact a flower with stamens is meant, one might consider a flower placed in a container of holy water. With some kinds of "release water" (*tirta pēmbreṣihan*, or *tirta pēlukatan*) flowers are likewise mixed with holy water, as, for example, in cremation rites (see 12, 2a). Above the jar, which Lubdhaka's soul is touching, we see a parasol with decorated border attached to a slanting handle which seems to be coming out of the front of the building. On the left we see another such parasol, this time in a vertical position, with behind it a trident intended for Śīwa. On that side there stand the bamboo poles of *umbul-umbul*, bending over at the top, an example of which we encountered in Scene 8. On the right-hand side there is to be seen a large parasol with decorated edge and ribbons on the shaft with beside it a large and a small trident. As background there are again depicted raindrops and (probably) flashes of lightning as continuation of the ones we saw in Scene 19. It is uncertain whether this building is the "splendid place" which Lubdhaka's soul receives in heaven through Śīwa's favour or the dwelling of Śīwa himself, or again a schematic representation of heaven, *swarga*. On this, see Scene 12 of 2a and Illustration 3.

Furthermore, mention should be made of the fact that a strip hangs under the eaves, its lower edge showing an undulating line. This is what would be called *idēr-idēr* in Bali — a piece of cloth running around this beam and fixed to it, which may or may not be painted; such a decoration may be imitated in wood or stone. Finally it should be noted that the hair-arrangement of Lubdhaka's soul has undergone a change. A curved line, now coloured black and resembling a flash of lightning, but more likely meant as a cap, covers his hair. Perhaps this detail indicates a part of the metamorphosis which is mentioned in the

kakawin. In any case it is a fact that in this scene Lubdhaka's soul does not have demonic eyes. The impurity which adhered to the hunter has apparently disappeared because of what he did unawares when he dropped *wilwa* leaves on the *Śivalinga* in the wood. (See Ill. 3.)

As has already become apparent during the description of various scenes, certain details from 2b can be compared with those from 2a, which was made by Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl. The first thing to strike us is the division into rectangles. Bonnet informed me that this is a regularly recurring feature in this artist's work. If one includes the Tantri illustration (which is in Bali) by him in the investigation, one obtains the following points of comparison (in random order): erect tips on the lower side of women's clothing; feet which are not depicted in many scenes; the knots in trees indicated by twisted lines; *wilwa* leaves and *paṇḍan* bushes; earth-motifs; dogs' tails; the tiger; kitchen utensils (with shading); the handle on the chopping block; the foundation of mortared stones; creepers climbing up trees; and the stairway to heaven. Having noted the above we should observe that, as far as we know, the style of drawing of 2a and 2b is not encountered with any other modern Balinese painter. This leads us to the following conclusions. Illustration 2b was also drawn by Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl. Seeing that this painter died in 1937, the item must have been completed before then. If the same picture as 2a is not meant with the "Loebdaka" mentioned in the introduction to 2a and 2b, which was exhibited in Bandung in 1936, this "Loebdaka" may have come into the possession of Mr. Van der Wilk after 1936, at which time he was living in Bali. If the "Loebdaka" of 1936 is not the same work as 2b, then Ida Bagoes Gèlgèl made yet a third illustration of the story, which cannot for the time being be traced and has perhaps been lost, just as 2a. It is possible, although unproven, that 2a was also a drawing in Indian ink, applied with pen and brush.

ILLUSTRATION 3²⁹

In Th. A. Resink's collection of Balinese paintings, which includes primarily older but also some comparatively modern examples, we found one which belongs to the latter category. According to the owner, who kindly gave us permission to reproduce the painting, it was made in about 1931 in the Puri Gèdè Sarèn, in Krambitan, Tabanan. The

²⁹ See Plate VI.

picture (according to data mentioned by the owner to me in a letter) is painted on machine-woven, unbleached cotton. The colour of the background is pale yellow and that of the border black. The dimensions are 90 cm. wide and 70 cm. high. Judging from certain iconographical details, this collection contains a second work by the same artist; who this was Resink could not tell me with any certainty. He informed me that both items are a kind of copy of some very old murals which he found in the abovenamed Puri. Both cloths are at present to be found in the owner's home in Taormina, Sicily.

On a reddish-brown platform provided with a pale grey tiled floor a number of persons are to be seen; some are standing or kneeling near an open *bale* on the floor, and some are kneeling or sitting in front of the structure, on the right-hand side of the raised platform. This displays a projection on the left-hand half of the painting. Beside it the two *parēkan*, Twalen (black and yellow) and Mṛdah (red and brown) are sitting on the ground. They are looking upwards toward a royal or divine figure (in a light-brown colour) who, his head inclined forward and crowned, is kneeling before a god (coloured grey), who bears the four arms, the attributes and the third eye of Śīwa. Śīwa is standing. He is looking to the right, over the kneeling figure. His front, right hand is raised: he is speaking. The front, left hand is almost resting on the left shoulder of the person kneeling before him, who is holding his hands up as if to speak. The *parēkan* show the same gesture of the hands. Behind Śīwa, Umā (her skin coloured a pale yellow) is apparently walking along out of the building. Her left hand is extended downward, with the fingers turned upward; her right hand is raised, its position indicating speech. The painter intended the open *bale* to be supported on four decorated pillars resting on blocks of tuff stone which are placed on the floor. The pillars bear a partially visible span-roof of which the surface facing us has an ornamentation against rows of stylized roofing in red, green and yellow colours, made of a vegetable material. The ornamentation consists of a reddish-brown monster-head with two eyes and a wide tongue hanging out between its teeth. The head is contained in a circle against the background of a yellow diamond shape. One also sees one-eyed monster-heads or rosettes applied as decoration to roofs in this way in older Balinese paintings. The stylized tiles on the ridge, in the same yellow as the background, show variations on a leaf theme. Under the lowest beam red curtains with a pale yellow border can be seen in undulating lines, furnished with a red, stylized hanging pleat on the right by the side ridge.

The side of the projection is decorated with worked, pale yellow diamond motifs against a background of rows of reddish-brown bricks. On this part of the side of the platform which connects with the projection, diamond shapes have again been placed on the rows of stones. In this case they are filled with a reddish-brown monster-head within a circle, a variation of what we saw on the roof. On the section of the floor in front of the building three gods are kneeling one behind the other. They have the usual attire of these heavenly beings. Aureoles with reddish-brown edges have been placed around them, in form corresponding with what can be seen on stone images in East Java, although here stylized. In Bali this detail is called *kuruñ* or *prabha*. A fourth god, coloured black and yellow, is sitting on the extreme right of the floor with his legs wide apart. This is a demonic figure. If we may proceed on the assumption of a foursome of gods (the fourth also has an aureole), then the four guardians of the compass points have been depicted here. From right to left they are Yama, Kuwera (light-brown), Indra (yellow) and Baruna (reddish-brown). We see the high reddish-brown brick walls of a lookout-tower (*pañguni*) rising behind Indra, Kuwera and Yama. This structure has a closed balustrade or railing of stone or wood, decorated with hexagonal worked motifs (perhaps intended as tuff stone on brick). The floor of the *pañguni* has a raised and a lower part. The latter is the verandah of a room with a door at the front and a window (in the form of a diamond filled with a cross) on the side facing us. The roof over the room continues over the verandah and the lower floor of the *pañguni*, and at the left-hand end is supported by decorated pillars of which the lower part is obscured by the railing. The span-roof displays a roofing such as that of the open *bale* on the left. In the centre of this surface we do not see a monster-head in this case, but a rosette. On the lower floor there sits a maid-servant, coloured a dark yellow, wearing a red garment and partly hidden by the railing, talking to two mistresses who are sitting in front of the room on the raised floor. The lady in front, coloured in yellow, has her right hand under her chin. Her companion behind her is looking, as she is, to the left, but has meanwhile extended her right hand backwards across her chest. She appears to be pointing at something which, on the right of the scene, cannot be seen on the cloth but which the painter intended to be happening or have happened. The two mistresses are heavenly nymphs, and the servant girl is of the type called *condon* in Bali. On the *pañguni* too we see red and yellow curtains under the roof beam. The background is formed by cloud

formations (in red, white and blue), close together and in a horizontal position. They might actually also have been visible between the pillars of the open *bale* below, if the painter had wished to depict them there — for one reason or another he has omitted them. At the bottom of the scene we see along the whole length continuous earth-motifs, coloured a reddish-brown on the inside and with a red edge. Seeing the height of these shapes, they could in this instance also indicate mountain-peaks.

So what we see is this. Śīwa and Umā are coming out of a building on a high platform (a *batur*, or as it is called in Java, a *sitingil*) to meet a kneeling figure wearing a crown. Śīwa greets him graciously. The kneeling man is acting submissively, like Arjuna when he kneels before Śīwa in a scene from the Arjuna-wiwāha (when the god has abandoned his form as a *kīrāta* — hunter of low caste — and grants Arjuna a miraculous arrow). Śīwa is speaking over the head of the kneeling figure, past the first three *lokapala*, to Yama, who has large spots on his body and face. Heavenly women are watching this scene from a lookout-tower. One of them is asking something of a servant girl, and receives an answer from her. The other displays a position of the hand which in this case indicates not so much fear or mourning as amorous longing. Perhaps this is meant for the man with the crown kneeling before Śīwa who was so kindly accepted during Śīwa's conversation with Yama. The *parēkan* belong to Śīwa's retinue. They also seem to be looking up kindly toward the person who apparently may rejoice in Śīwa's favour as well as in the sympathy of the goddess Umā, who is gracefully advancing in order to cast a glance at him.

It would seem that this scene is a comprehensive representation of Canto 29, 2-6c, to which 30, 1 - 35, 1 is linked in order to complete the description of Śīwa's abode; these passages were already discussed in the interpretation of Scene 12 of Illustration 2a. There are, however, differences between what the text says and what the painter shows us. The building under which or before which Śīwa and Umā are standing for the reception of Lubdhaka, who has meanwhile been raised to divine status, is more likely the *sabhā* which Yama entered and where he spoke to Śīwa about the hunter than the golden *meru*. There are no brahmans or *ṛṣi* present at the interview, but instead three guardians of the points of the compass, now that their colleague Yama has arrived. The latter's irritated surprise at seeing the hunter being received here by Śīwa as a god has been correctly portrayed by the painter. The heavenly women are here not seated behind Umā, but are looking down from a lookout-tower on what is happening in the reception hall. They

are asking something of a servant girl, who then gives an explanation of the amazing events below. The ornamentation of the architectural features is apparently intended to be the "jewel ornaments" of the heavenly abode on the summit of Mt. Kailāsa. The mountain peaks below suggest such a palace on the highest point of a mountain.

Śiwa has caused Lubdhaka's body to turn into that of a god. He has called him near and seems to be saying to Yama: I shall never suffer this man to go to the cauldron of hell. Śiwa's gesture toward Yama does not, however, indicate anger. It is rather a gracious welcome to the ruler of hell that is depicted. For after all, the latter has a right to an explanation, as in his view he has acquitted himself of the duty formerly laid upon him by Śiwa. It is Lubdhaka's *brata* which in this case can explain Śiwa's attitude toward a hunter.

In the painting Lubdhaka is not depicted exactly the same as Śiwa. He does not have the latter's special shape of crown, not to mention his four arms, his third eye and his trousers — which Yama does possess, as he is of course also an important god.

Unfortunately we are not able to investigate what might have been listed as Illustration 4 in the series of depictions of the tale of Lubdhaka if certain circumstances had not prevented it. These were the Second World War, which caused the loss of an item from the Bonnet Collection (as well as several others). The work in question is from the collection which was shown in Bandung in 1936 as an exhibition by Pita Maha, organized by the Art-Circle there. In the relevant catalogue the item is mentioned on p. 23 as No. 25, and is entitled "Siwa en Loebdaka, 1931 — I Madé Gerija † — Oeboed".

Bonnet possessed three other works by this painter. Two of them have meanwhile been transferred to the University of Leiden. I described them on pp. 42 and 43 of the catalogue which was published for the exhibition "Hedendaagse Kunst van Bali" (Contemporary Art of Bali) run in 1962 by the Central Museum in Utrecht. These are the "Maans-verduistering" (Eclipse of the Moon) on three-ply from 1932, and "Beek" (Brook, showing farmers with cattle on the bank, in the vicinity of a village temple), black ink on paper, from 1929. (I Made Gerija was born in 1898). The relevant literature on these items was listed in this catalogue; the third is not mentioned there. Rudolf Bonnet presented this third work to the museum for modern Balinese art at Ubud, called Puri Lukisan. In the catalogue written by G. J. Resink this work is given the number 22. Also a reproduction is printed, and is described

on p. 6. It concerns a representation of the story of Garuḍa with the elephant and tortoise (the changed forms of two princes) contained in the Indian and Old Javanese Ādiparwa. This is a drawing in black and white, filled in with gold. In 1930 Bonnet drew a portrait of the painter, of which no photo exists and the whereabouts of which he does not know. But as early as 1936 he said something about the painter in an article which appeared in the journal *Djawa* of that year: "The *dalan* of Ubud, I Made Gerija, who died in 1934 has contributed perhaps more to the revival of art among his friends through his refined, artistic intellect and literary knowledge than through his somewhat dry work". As I mentioned in part in the Utrecht catalogue on the basis of supplementary data from Bonnet, he was well informed on myths and legends. Other villages than his own used to invite him to appear as a performer of the shadow-play. In view of his frail constitution this work gradually became too burdensome for him, so that he was not often able to do creative work. Seen within the context of modern Balinese art, his death was untimely, coming two years before the establishment of the Society of Balinese Painters, Pita Maha. As I said in the catalogue, he is also mentioned by Miguel Covarrubias in his book *Island of Bali*. The fact that the Canadian musician Colin McPhee likewise knew him and gave him commissions to translate several Balinese writings was overlooked there. He furthermore recommended the painter to give instruction to two young Balinese, as can be read on pp. 8, 99, 100 and 194 of *A House in Bali* published in 1946. This concerns events from the years 1932-1934 when McPhee was living at Sayan in the house later occupied by Charley Sayers, the original owner of our *iděr-iděr*, who died during the building of the Burma railway.

So three painters within the scope of modern Balinese art have illustrated the tale of Lubdhaka. Of these we only know two by name so far. It could well be that there have been other artists who have followed their example.

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GLOSSARY ON THE TEXT OF ŚIWARĀTRIKALPA

This Glossary contains all words and forms from the text which are treated unsatisfactorily or not at all in the dictionaries of Van der Tuuk and Juynboll. The references and translation adopted by us for these words are mentioned, and sometimes a brief explanation is appended. Full lexicographical treatment of the entries was not attempted. A reference to the Introduction or the notes on the translation is given when the word concerned is handled more fully there. The sign (Z) means that the word has been dealt with in that lexicographical material of Zoetmulder which was available to us at the time of writing. It does not, however, indicate that Zoetmulder's interpretation has in every case been followed.

In the case of OJ words commencing with *h* + vowel, the reader is advised to check also under the form with simple vowel, and vice versa.

The reader is also referred to the Index for OJ terms which are discussed in this book, but not in direct connection with the OJ text.

- abar* : *maṇabaran* 26,6d to flame, flare (Z).
abhimata 34,1c intention, desire (Z).
adēg : *adēg-adēgan* 28,1d while standing opposite each other (Z).
adhama 15,5b; 30,1d vile, worthless (Z).
adhamatara 30,1d most vile; arch-villain.
adhikatarā 31,2c very extraordinary (Z).
ādhyātmika 6,1d relating to the soul, spiritual, esoteric (Mal., Jav. *batin*) (Z).
ādiyuga 34,3b the primeval age; Skt. *kṛtayuga*.
ahas : *kahasan* 4,3b travelled through (of places).
ajar : *t-ajarēn* 11,4c tell (us); (we) want to be told; *t-ajar-ajarēn* 36,2b id. (Intro. p. 30).
akara 5,4b about, approximately (Z).
alañ : *haywa kapalañ* 19,5c let nothing stand in your way (lit. don't be blocked); *kapalañ-alañ* 17,1a to be in trouble, to be blocked.
alap : *mañalap sor* 35,1a to express one's submission (T 1,290).
alit see *sañka*.
alus see *kalus(a)*.
amānuṣa 4,1d uncanny, not for men (Z).
amēñan 17,1c (*amēñanamwa*) what is left of somebody, the remains (T 1,432, often *hamēñan*).
ampēh, *tan ampēh* 28,10a unabating; *tan mampēh* 28,8a id. (Z).
anāśraya 33,1a helpless, unprotected (Z).
aṅgul : *mañāṅgul* 21,13b (*yan pañāṅgul*) to fight back, to push.
añima 29,4c the first of the eight powers (*aṣṭaguṇa*), the superhuman power of becoming as small as an atom, Skt. *añiman* (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 87; also SD 32,1b).
anin 37,9a but, = *anhiñ*.
añkas-añkas 28,9b to be in the last convulsions.
antaji 9,1a interval (of time), = *antara* (Z).
anta : *pinakānta* 33,2a to be the consummation of (note; Z).
antuk 28,4d; 21,6b (*tar antuk*) to succeed; successfully (Z, = *ulih*).
anusmarāṇa 37,1a concentration on the deity (Z).
apa, *apa tan* 4,3d for not ... (before *tan*, *yan*, etc., *apa* = *apan*).
apramāṇa 23,8a incomparable (Z).

- āpti*: *sakināptyan* 1,3b all that is longed for (Z).
- arēp*: *arēp-arēpan* 25,8a to face each other (Z).
- arika* 30,8b an emphatic particle, stressing what precedes (cf. *marika*, *karika*; Zoetmulder, 1950, pp. 112-13).
- arip* 37,5a sleep, heaviness of the eyes, see also *harip* (Z).
- arja* I 37,5b dancing performance (T 1,120; note).
- arja* II, *gambir arja* 37,3a; *majārja* 37,3d specific kind of *gambir* and *maja*? (note; Z); *mamaharja* 4,2a to put in order (caus. *paha* + *rēja*, Z).
- artha* 23,3c (*sārthanya*) (all the) things (needed for it).
- asambhawa* 38,2c impossible, absurd (Z).
- asir* see *sira*.
- aṣṭaguṇa* 29,4c the eight superhuman powers (T 1,221; Hooykaas, 1964, pp. 86-88; Z).
- astu* 36,2c indeed, verily (Z).
- ati*- very; Gonda, 1952, p. 295, has observed that in RY *ati* already occurs with Javanese words, even with derived forms such as *ka-trēs-an*. In our text we find *atipūṅṅi* 1,3b and even *atikinēñēp* 1,1a.
- atulya* 19,3a unequalled.
- awur*: *inawur-awur* 28,8d thrown into disorder (Introd. p. 30).
- ayat*: *mayat* 8,6a to be about to, to be on the point of: *ri mayat in rahina* when day was about to break (Z).
- ayāya* see *pañayāya*.
- baddha*: *mabaddha* 24,2d locked together (Z).
- baddhaka* 30,9c captive, prisoner (Z).
- bahitra* 28,2d ship (Z).
- bajra* 21,2c, 11c, 12c; 23,2d thunderbolt.
- balasaṅghya* 19,13b troops (*saṅgha* and *saṅghya* often occur indiscriminately in OJ texts and manuscripts).
- balayodha* 21,9b, 10a troops, men.
- balik*: *tan abalik* 37,9c not return to (a former state), not again (footnote; Z).
- bandhana* see *mahābandhana*.
- bañjar*: *binañjar* 2,7d arranged in rows, in a row (Z).
- banun* see *mar banun*.
- baribin* 28,7a chaos, confusion (Z).
- baruṅ*: *abarun* 28,2b resounding; to sound together (Z).
- bēnēr*: *amēnēr* 15,4a to go straight ahead, unswervingly.
- bhāṣa* 38,2a poetry, *kakawin* (Z).
- bhinḍiwāla* 21,3d; 23,9c; 27,2c spear, javelin (in Skt. there are various forms: *bhindipāla*, *bhinḍimāla*, etc.).
- bhramanta* 28,7a turmoil; turbulent (Z).
- bhramita* 4,4b wandering (Z).
- bhukti*: (*m*)*amukti*, -*n* *ṣamukti* 8,4c; 19,5c; 37,7c, 9c to eat, to enjoy, to endure; *amuktyakēn* 9,9b id. (Z).
- bibab* 23,6c bruised (Z).
- biṣṭi* 8,2a peril(ous), difficult (Z; SI 308).
- bot* see *bwat* (Introd. p. 29).
- bwat*: *kabwatan* 1. the full weight of: *akabwatan lañō* 1,1a accomplished in poetic arts; *sakabwatan* 37,2d the whole fullness of, all that pertains to ...; *kabwatan* 2. weighed down by, under the heavy burden of: — *wulat* 32,2a weighed down by people's gaze; — *susu* 32,2c under the heavy burden of her breasts; *binotan* 23,8c overwhelmed.
- bwat-dhantēn* 3,2a (līṅga?-)pavilions? (Z; Introd. pp. 48-49).
- bwat-rawi* 3,4b pool, pond (Z).
- cacah* 14,5d; 25,3c (*cacahēn*) to cut up, to injure.
- caraṇa* 32,7c; 35,1c foot, feet (Z).
- caraṇapaṅkaja* 33,1a lotus-feet (Z).
- carik*: *cumarik* 8,3c (*cumarik hati*) to scratch, to cut, to wound (Z).
- carub*: *acarub* 37,4b mixed with (Z).
- cawintēn* 3,1c monster-head (over a temple gate, etc.), = *cawiri*, *karaṇ cawiri* (T 1,629; Z; see sketch in Covarrubias, 1937, p. 185).
- cēnil*: *macēnil* 6,1d to debate, to have a (scholarly) discussion (Z).
- cihna*: *macihna* 38,1c named, bearing the name of (Tanakuṅ).
- cūrnikṛta* 23,5d shattered.
- dadak*: *aṇdadak* 32,1b; *aṇdadak-dadak* 3,9c to do (something) suddenly, hastily, to improvise; all at once (Z).
- dadi*: *adadi* 35,3d so that, consequently (reading uncertain, see note).
- dagan* 9,1d (*in* —) (at his) feet (Z).

danta: *adanta-danta* 2,6d laid out in rows (or *ḍaṇṭa*?) (Z).

daṇu 17,3a flower-stalk (of coconut palm).

ḍarak: *aḍara-ḍarak* 10,1c in a line, forming a line (Z).

daśendriya 33,1d the ten senses, i.e. the ten organs of perception and action (Z; Hooykaas, 1966, p. 138).

de: *tan wriṇ deyaṇya* 4,4d he did not know what to do; *sadeṇya* 14,5d in any possible way.

ḍēkuḥ: *aḍēkuḥ-ḍēkuḥ(a)* 16,2b to kneel down.

dewaguru: *kadewagurwan* 2,7a monastery (*dewaguru* is the superior of a community of monks or nuns, see Introd. p. 47; Z).

dhāraṇa: *dhumāraṇa* 30,5c to bear, carry, endure (Z).

dhiraśinḥa 19,8b mighty lions.

digjaya 1,1d — *in laṇō* world-conqueror in poetry (Introd. p. 42; Z).

divyaśakti 21,8b of supernatural might.

doh: *dinohan* 32,3b avoided.

ḍom: *paḍōman* 19,12c; 21,7c; 23,6b refuge, place to hide (Z).

drēs: *kadrēsan aṇim* 27,2d whipped by the wind (Z).

dug see *ndug*.

duṇḥus 3,6a steep bank, (rocky) slope (Z).

duṣkṛta: 16,1d; *kaduṣkṛta(n?)* sinfulness; *saduṣkṛta* 34,4b all evil deeds (Z).

duṣṭakuhaka: *kaduṣṭakuhaka* 5,6b evil nature (Z).

duwēg 7,3c; 24,3a while, when (connected with possessive pronoun: *duwēgnya*, *duwēg nira*).

ḍwijaghna 37,8b a murderer of brahmins (Z).

dyah: *adyah* 3,2c; 8,5d young maiden, girl (Z).

ēbaṇ: *aṇēbaṇ-ēbaṇ* 26,7b to call for.

ēmbak: *aṇēmbak-ēmbak* 26,3c open, bleeding (wound).

ēmbul see *kēmbul*.

ēnēb: *aṇēnēb* 2,4d to irrigate; *humēnēb-hēnēb* 30,7d to curb, to restrain (basic meaning: to sink in, to submerge, to let settle) (Z).

ēnēr: *inēnēr* 25,5d aimed at; see also *bēnēr*.

gaga see *paṅgaga*.

gahan-gahan 11,10a wild, impetuous, careless (Z).

galar: *magalar-galar* 30,11b to search right through, to check (a *galih*); *galarana* 30,10d check!

galih 30,10d, 11a, 11c (the) book, records (of Citragupta) (note).

galuntaṇ: *aṅgaluntaṇ* 28,3d to sweep forward, to rush.

gambir 37,3a — *arja* (see note to 37,3d).

ganal: *maganal* 33,2c coarse.

garwita 25,7c; 30,5a blazing with warlike spirit (Z).

gati 18,1d; 19,3a, 4c; 34,2a, 3d, 7d way, conduct, condition (Z).

gātra, 5,7b; 32,1d faint appearance (of something just becoming visible), first faint glow, dusting (of powder) (Z).

gēlar: *aṅgēlar* 37,1a; *ginēlar* 23,3c to perform (a ritual, a sacrifice); *gēlarana* 37,2d id.; *maṅgēlarakēna* 37,1c id. (Z; Hooykaas, 1966, Index).

gēntus: *gumēntus* 28,3d to crash forward, to bump (against) (Z).

ghātaka 11,8d murderous; killer.

gigal 3,2a; 28,9b wrecked, dislocated, fallen apart (Z).

giṅgaṇ 28,7b staggering (Z).

gohmukha see *tāmbra*.

gohwaktra see *tāmbra*.

goṇ 19,10c gong.

goṣṭhi: *paḡoṣṭhyan* 2,5d meeting-place, place of deliberation.

graha: *kagraha* 34,1c understood.

grīṇ 9,1b sickness; *agriṇ* 39,1a sick (Z).

gulaṇ 1: *magulaṇ-gulaṇ* 20,3a to lie (neglected, abandoned), cf. Udy. 48,14;

gulaṇ 2: *ginulaṇ-gulaṇ halu* 13,2b well drilled, well trained, cf. AW 21,2 and Mod. Jav. *gulaṇ* (Z).

guliṇ: *aguliṇ* 35,2c to lie down (Z).

guluṇ: *gumulun* 23,5c; 27,2a to roll (onward).

guṇa: *maguṇa* (in *raṇāṅgaṇa*) 13,2a capable, powerful (in battle) (Z).

guntur 19,13d; 28,3d stream of lava.

gurulaghu 38,1b (the rules of) long and short; metrical rules (Z; Introd. p. 44).

gutuk: *paṅgutuk* 23,4d (heavy) object thrown (Z).

hala: *kahala* 21,4c battered, in a bad way (Z).

halilañ see *lilañ*.

hambal-hambal 3,5b steps; *mahambalan* 9,1b by way of (lit. using as steps) (Z).

hañañ: *ahañañ-hañañ* 3,5d running away (with a girl) (Z).

hañut: *hinañut* 10,1b borne, carried along (?) (note; Z).

hariṇ 5,4b,5a,7a sleep, heaviness of the eyes, also *ariṇ* (Z).

haris: *tan haris-harisēñ* 14,4d don't treat him gently; without giving quarter (*añharis*, to treat kindly) (Z).

haraṇa: *pañharaṇa* 2,3c instruments for catching (Z).

harṣa: *kaharṣan* 36,2c wished, consciously desired (Z).

hatak 37,4b — *wilis* green peas (*katjang idjo*).

hatēr: *hinatēran* 30,4c carried off, lead away.

hati: *tan ahati* 23,3d heedless of, to pay no heed to (normally *tan pahati*, Z).

hayo 34,2b; 37,6c,6d do not (= *haywa*, see Introd. p. 29).

hēmū: *añhēmū* 32,5c withholding (a giggle); the basic meaning is 'barely contain'; the word is also found with *tañis*, *rāh*.

hēpiñ 2,9c; 8,6c tree-beetle (or a kind of bird? Z).

hīna: *hīnan* 38,1a end; *sahīnan in mulat* 3,12c as far as one can see, the horizon (Z).

hiras: *hiniras* 22,1c; 23,9d stabbed, cut to pieces; *miras-hiras* 36,2a to make complete (lit. to finish off, to go the whole way? cf. Mod. Jav. *ngiras*).

hiris: *kahirisan* 17,3c tapped dry.

hituñ: *kahituñ* 9,8a counted, taken into account; also *ketuñ* 39,1b (Z).

hrḍayakamalamadhya 1,1b the midst of the heart lotus (Introd. p. 42; Z).

hūñ 23,3a noise, shouting (Z).

huni: *kahuni* 30,11c mentioned (note); see also *uni*.

hyañ 1,1a — *niñ* — the God of Gods, = *Śiva* (Introd. pp. 40-41; Z).

hyun: *wahw ahyun* 19,6b just about to ...; *kinahyunan* 9,2c desired, wished for (Z).

iḍēr: *edran* 4,3a to wander around, to circle around (Z).

inak 9,9d (*añ inaka i*, that which will be) quiet, undistracted, pleasant (for); *enak* 19,14a id., to go on without hindrance; *añenaki* 9,2a to give relief (Z).

indah: *apendah* 31,4c to be like (note; Z *piṇḍa* and *piṇḍah*).

iṇḍit: *keṇḍit* 21,7a swept away; *añiṇḍit keṇḍit* 23,2c throwing each other to the ground?

indradiḥ 5,7c east.

iñēr: *uñiñēr* 25,9c to move sideways, dodge (Z).

iñēt: *meñēt* 35,2c conscious (Z).

itara 14,1a other(s).

itun see *hitun*.

iwō: *iwōñ* 8,5a to be given attention, to be treated with care; *pañiwō* 2,2d means of providing for (Z).

jahat: *mañjahat* 32,3d to wreck.

jañgama 33,2a moving, living (animals).

jēlag: *añjēlag* 3,3a to soar (Z).

juru: *sajuru-jurunya* 30,5a (with) all their regiments (Z).

kabēt: *akabēt* 12,2d to fail (Z).

kalak 37,3b a certain plant (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 213; Z).

kalakah: *kinalakah* 2,5d roofed with rushes (*kalakah*, reeds growing at the water's edge; Z).

kalanḥkyañ 3,10c; 17,4a a certain bird, kind of cuckoo, *cātaka* (it cries for the rains to come; Z).

kalib: *akalib* 32,5c hesitant, without action (Z).

kalilip 13,2d a speck of dirt (in the eye) (Z).

kalus(a?): *pañalusan* 2,4b a retreat (etymology not clear; Z).

kambañ 2,8b flower (variant of *kēmbañ*; Z).

kañcuga 2,3b *kṛṣṇāmbarākañcuga* a hunter's jacket (of black cloth) (Z). See also *kañśuga*; Skt. *kañcuka*.

kaṇḍa: *makaṇḍa* 26,3d to wear a sword; *kinaṇḍa* 26,4c cut with a sword.

kaṇḍaga 19,10d; 25,4d (*mahākaṇḍaga*) kind of dagger.

kanēñēt: *kumanēñētakēñ* 30,3d to mind, to keep in mind (note).

- kañiri* 37,3a a certain plant, oleander (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 213).
- kañsuga* 37,1d *suddhakañsuga* a clean (white?) jacket; see also *kañcuga*.
- kantēnanya* 19,3d; 29,5a therefore, obviously. The etymology is not clear — is it Mod. Jav. *kantēnan* (beside *karuhan*)? Zoetmulder has pointed out that *karuhan* is rare and late in OJ, whereas *kantēnanya* occurs as early as BY (8,7). Is there any connection with *kāraṇa*? (Z).
- kas*: *tar wēnañ kinas* 9,1b inexorable, inevitable (the etymology is not clear; Z).
- kasut*: *mañasut* 3,6d to cover (Z).
- kathana* 37,5c *Śabarakathana* the tale of the Śabara; *akathana* 37,5d to tell the tale of ... (Z).
- kawaśa*: *kumawaśa* 1,2b; 38,2b to struggle, make efforts, to make bold to; *sakawaśa* 37,6c according to one's ability (Z).
- kawih*: *kumawih* 1,2b to aspire to, to act as if one is skilful (*kawih* means capable, skilled) (Z).
- kayā(ya)* see *pañayāya*.
- kēdō* see *parikēdō*.
- kējat*: *-n pakējat-kējat* 9,5c to pant (breath), to falter (of the *kētē-kētēg*, q.v.) (Z).
- kēmbul*: *anēmbuli* 19,6c; 21,8d; 25,5b; 30,4a to overwhelm, to attack en masse (*ēmbul* also exists as root; Z).
- kēna*: *kakēna* 30,4c,4d caught, got hold of; see also *pakēna* (Z).
- kēpō*: *anēpō* 6,3d to hover (Z).
- kērētug*: *kakērētug* 13,1b; 19,10c to resound, to clash.
- kētē-kētēg* 9,5c heart-beat, (beating of the) pulse, moving of a limb, etc. (note; Z).
- kētēr* 28,2d,10c to vibrate, tremble, quaver (sound of voice, thunder, heart; Z).
- kētikan* 15,4b = *tikan*, that.
- ketu* 23,3b flag.
- khaḍga*: *khinaḍga* 28,1d cut with swords.
- kicir*: *kumicir* 3,8a gushing.
- kihū*: *makihū* 3,2a in ruins.
- kilil* see *ñilil*.
- kinas* see *kas*.
- kirti*: *makirti* 1,2b to acquire merit, to win oneself fame, to write a poem (Introd. p. 43).
- kisik* 8,6d to creak (bamboo) (Z).
- kram*: *akram* 12,3b in order, in rows (= *akrama*; Z).
- kricik* 19,14d to ring (daggers).
- krtāla* 24,2b knife (Z).
- krtawara* 30,1a *krtawarādhika* he who has earned marvellous boons (Z).
- kṣaṇa*: *sakṣaṇa* 4,2a; 19,2b, etc. then, next, the next instant.
- kucubun* 37,3a a certain plant, also *kacubun*, thorn-apple (Z; Hooykaas, 1964, p. 213).
- kucumba* 8,7c household, Skt. *kuṭumba* which also occurs in OJ (Z).
- kudupun*: *kimudupun* 21,9a overwhelmed, attacked en masse.
- kuṇḍaṇ*: *anuṇḍaṇi* 9,7d to accompany (Z).
- kusā*: *akusā* 9,6b to lament (Z).
- kusut*: *makusut* 32,2b,3c disorderly, disturbed, unkempt (Z).
- kūṭamantra* 1,1c 'fortification formula' (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 119, and passim, see 1966, Index).
- kutu* see *patikutu*.
- lalab* 9,8d a kind of dish (uncooked fruits and leaves) (Z).
- lalayan* 2,7d; 3,1b wall (Z).
- lali*: *kalalen* 30,10d negligent (Z).
- lalu*: *linalu* 27,3c ignored; *kalalu* 4,1b passed; *palalun* 26,8d, *palalunta* 17,1a accept! resign yourself! (Z).
- lambaṇ*: *palambaṇa* 3,9d verses, poem (the form with *-a* occurs often where there seems to be no reason for the use of an arealis, Z).
- lampu* 15,5b too bad; exceedingly, Mal. *terlalu* (Z).
- landēn*: *anlandēn* 2,5c; 3,6b long drawn-out, stretched (is *lanḍēn* a better reading? Z).
- lanḍēs*: *linanḍēsakēn* 23,4c used as blocks (note; Z).
- lañō* (*mañō*, *kalanñōn*, *kalanñwan*, etc.) emotion, beauty, poetry (see Introd. p. 31).
- lara*: *lumarani* 34,7d; 37,8a to cause sorrow, to offend; *pilaran* 14,5d (in order) to be tormented (note; Z).
- larad*: *malaradan* 26,3a to flee, to disappear (Z).

larwas: *larwasana(nta)* 29,5d to be done for a long time (by you) (note; Z).

layu see *rara*.

laywan 8,6b (*sa*)*laywan* (*in gēlun*) (as the) faded blossoms (from a maiden's hair) (Z).

lēpas 25,9c,9d fired (of a weapon); to dodge, escape (Z).

les: *ales* 20,2b; 21,11d; 28,4b to dodge (Z).

lēwih: *kalēwih* 34,4a excellence; (*sa-*) *linēwih* 14,2b (all the) most excellent (Z).

liga: *aṇliga* 32,4b bare, exposed; to expose (Z).

lilaṇ: *alilaṇ* 26,8b clean, swept away; *mahālilaṇ* 33,1d to cleanse, purify (Z).

lilip see *kalilip*.

liṅgiḥ: *maṅgiḥ* 9,1d to sit.

lipuṇ 25,5c,6a spear.

liriṇ see *saliriṇ*.

liwat: *aṇliwatana* 21,12a (trying) to pass by (in older texts the base is usually *halīwat*).

lolya 30,10a; 35,2d absorbed, absent-minded, forgetful, negligent (Z).

lād: *lumūd* 25,10d moreover; *linūd* 22,2b; 23,9d finished off, swept away (Z).

luhik 30,9a perfidious, false, treacherous (Z).

luhya 7,3c hungry (Z).

lume 2,8b to hang down, to spill freely; to be weak, limp (Z).

luput: *kaluput* 37,6d *kaluputēn turū*, be safeguarded against sleep! See also WS 1c.

luwar 18,1d to break loose, escape; *maluwaran* 37,10c to part, break up (Z).

madhyāhna 4,4c midday (Z).

mahābandhana 15,6c; 19,3d great ropes, mighty fetters (of Yama) (Z).

mahābhāra 11,5d very hard, very great (Z).

mahādibhūta 29,5c *pañca* — the five great basic elements (commonly called *pañca mahābhūta*, Hooykaas, 1966, p. 52; Z).

mahākaṇḍaga see *kaṇḍaga*.

mahāprabhāwa 5,6b great power (Z).

makara see *supit makara*.

mar baṇun 35,3d to come to (new) life (?) (meaning and etymology are still a puzzle, in spite of the large number of examples which Z gives).

mara 30,7a,7d, etc. then (emphasizing the preceding word).

mārgapada 11,1d destination (end of the road) (Z).

marika 30,10b then, indeed (emphasizing the preceding word, see *mara*; Zoetmulder, 1950, p. 112-3).

mātra 8,4b *bhuktimātra* a little food; *samātra tapwan* 11,9b not even the slightest, not a bit (Z).

matsyaka 37,4c meats (footnote).

mēṇḍuṇ 28,2c *megha* — a spreading field of cloud.

mēñēn-mēñēn 29,6b amazed.

meru 31,4a — *kanaka* the golden throne (of Śiwa) (T 4,326).

miśra 2,6d; *amiśra* 29,6c; *mamiśra* 2,5c to be mixed with, to merge with, to be absorbed in (Z).

mogha 21,12d; 28,7c somehow, nonetheless, suddenly.

mokṣa 37,6a disappearance, dispersion (this is normally *mukṣa* in OJ, whereas *mokṣa* regularly means "death, deliverance, final emancipation" SI pp. 240-1; Z).

mukta 38,2d dissolved (of impurities).

muraṇ: *amuraṇ-muraṇ* 38,1b to offend against.

muwah: *amuwah* 24,4d anew.

mwah: *amwah* 28,1d raw, gaping (wound).

namya: *anamyā* 16,2b to pay homage.

nāśa 37,8c destroyed, dispelled.

ndug 12,1b — *sēḍēṇnya-n dadi* during his life on earth (Z).

niḷil: *aṇililan* 2,7b to stand out; projecting high above its surroundings (Z).

nirāśraya 1,3d; 38,2d the Absolute, lit. he who or that which needs no support. In AW 3,7 one finds *anāśraya-samādhi*, "samādhi which no longer needs an outward support". Further, *nirāśraya* in OJ also occurs in its common Skt. meaning of "helpless, supportless" (Introd. p. 44; Z).

niṣāda 2,1b; 19,1a, etc. hunter (note to 2,1b).

niṣkala 1,1a immaterial (Introd. p. 42; Z).

nista: *sanista ni* 32,6a no matter how, notwithstanding.

nīwṛtti 33,2a state of complete abstraction, ceasing from worldly acts, in-

- activity, opposed to *prawṛtti* (note).
nyama 37,9c surely.
nyu-danta 17,3a = *nyu-gaḍiṇ* ivory cononut, *Cocos nucifera eburnea*.
- pacar wukir* 3,7d name of a plant = *pacar adri* WS 25 (Z).
pādapa 6,3b tree; branch, twig (Z).
paḍēm: *amaḍēmi* 26,7c to extinguish, put out — see also *ḍēm* (Z).
paḍōman see *ḍōm*.
paḥarja see *arja* II.
pahat: *pahatan* 17,3a notched for tapping (Z).
paja-paja 32,5b charm(ing) (Z).
pakēna 30,8a,8d; 30,9c function, use (Z).
paḥṣa 34,6d aim, wish; *maḥpaḥṣa* 24,5a, to desire strongly, to feel obliged to; *amaḥṣakēn* 11,8c to force (Z).
palēh: *pinalēh* 9,1c augmented, increased (? note; Z).
pāṇa 37,4c drinks.
paṇayāya 26,8a strength (T 4,331; Teeuw, 1946, p. 72 note).
paṇḍēn: *pinandēn* 23,7c to be gazed at, looked at intently (acc. to Z the root is *paṇḍēn*).
panek: *mamanek* 5,3b to climb onto (Jb. s.v. *nek*; Z).
paṇgaga 3,7d name of a plant, a creeper (Z).
paṇḍuṇ 3,7d name of a plant, Mal. *kangkung*? (Z).
paṇtēs: *kaṇantēs* 32,3d natural quality (note, Z).
paramadharmā 29,2c *saṇ* — he who excels in devotion to duty.
paramadharmika 34,2c satisfying the highest moral law, see *paramadharmā*.
paramahāsyā 1,3c the utmost derision.
paramapawitra 29,3b of supreme holiness.
paramaprabhāwa 37,8d supreme power.
paramasphuṭa 32,7d most clear, most distinct.
paramawara 29,6b excellent gifts.
paranti 3,9d place (ready for); (*m*)*amarantyakēn* 1,2b; 39,1c to prepare, arrange in order, to make room for; *pinakaḥamarantyan* 3,3a place where one keeps ready, serving as a place for (Z).
parigi: *pinarigi* 3,8c faced with ... stonework (Z).
parikēḍō: *pinarikēḍō* 34,2b to be forced, to persist, = *kinēḍō* (Z).
pariwarta 3,3c accompanying images, companion, = *pariwāra* (Z).
parṇa 5,5d *wilwapaṇa maja*-leaves (Z).
paśaṇ: *apaśaṇ arja* 37,5b to perform an *arja* play.
pātaka: *kapātaka* 30,10b punished (Z).
patēr 28,2d; 32,4a thunder (Z).
patikutu 8,3b to be obstinate (Z).
pēh: *amēh manah* 38,2a to concentrate one's mind; *pēhan* 37,4b milk (Jb. *pōh*).
pēk: *amēk-pinēk* 19,14b to exchange dagger thrusts (Jb. *pōk*).
pēlēn see *plēn*.
pēpēt 26,1c filled, dense(ly crowded); *ka-pēpētan* 23,8d cut off (by the crowd?).
pēyēh: (*m*)*apēyēh* 9,5a; 15,6d muffled.
pilih-pilih 32,5d to look like, (to be) possibly (mistaken for) (Z).
piṇḍa: *apiṇḍa* 8,4c; 32,1c to seem, look like (note to 31,4c; Z).
pinun 8,1d; 9,7d I (in conversation between the hunter and his wife).
pipik: *pinipik* 5,5b plucked (leaves) (Z).
plēn: *kaplēnēn* 28,7b utterly dazed (Z).
pōs: *kapōsan* 24,3c exhausted (Jb., T sub *apēs*; Z).
prakampā 14,3b to shudder.
pralabdha 23,7b successful, to succeed, to finish (Z).
pralāpita 1,3a verse, poetry, lyric (Z).
prāṇa: *amrānani* 35,1b — *twas* moving the heart (Z).
praṇālaka 3,3d water-channel (in a pedestal), pedestal, *yoni* (Introd. p. 49; Z).
praṇawamantra 33,2b (formula consisting of) the holy syllable (*om*).
praṇaṇca 39,1c confusion; confused (Z).
praśasta 30,3c reported, announced, known.
prasiddha 21,1c; 37,7a successful, real; *prasiddhakēn* 11,6b carry out! (Z).
pratiṣṭhita 1,1b enthroned, established.
prayoga 36,1d practice, rites (Z).
prēgi: *aprēgi* 11,3a to hasten.
puṇkuluṇ 30,3c he, him.
punya 19,3a,4b; 30,11c (*puṇyamātra*) 34,2c merit.
pupug 32,6d — *twas* at his wit's end (Z).
puput: *apuput* 32,4c to end up in, to result in (Z).
pūrwa: *pinūrwa* 5,7d deflowered (Z).
pūrwaka 3,4b; 30,3c original, first (Z).

puṣṭaka 19,3c; 29,1d the chariot of śīwa (Z).

putat 37,3a a certain plant (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 213).

putēk 9,9c sad, sorrowful (Z).

racana: *rumacana* 38,2b to order, to arrange (Z).

ragrag: *aragrag* 6,3a to fall (of leaves) (Z).

rakwa 16,1d mark you (note).

rapak: *rinampak* 21,8a (*rinēbut* —) overwhelmed wholesale, en masse, collectively.

rampiṇ: *arampiṇ* 28,4b nimble, agile, adroit (Z).

rampuṇ 19,11d; 23,2d; 28,5c broken, severed (Z).

raṇakula 28,8c soldiery.

raṇāṅgayajña: *karaṇāṅgayajña* 23,3c the sacrifice on the battlefield (note).

ranēh: *maṇranēh-ranēhi* 9,2a to grow worse, to overwhelm (Z).

raṇkaṇ 2,5b pavilion, kiosk, small dwelling-place (Introd. p. 47; Z).

rantay: *arantayan* 2,9b in chains, in wreaths (Z).

rara 6,2c — *malayu* certain flower (note).

rasa: *rasana* 30,10a think about! *rumasana* 37,5b in order to absorb oneself in (a poem) (note; Z).

rāsika: *karāsikan* 8,6c the sensations of love (Z).

rasuk: *arasuk* 2,3b wearing (clothes); *rinasuk* 19,7c clad in armour (Z).

ratih 32,6d *deva niṇ* — deity of love.

ratnapuṣṭaka 29,4b a jewelled carriage, see *puṣṭaka*.

rawas: *aṇrawasi* 6,1a to destroy (Z).

rēja see *arja* II.

rēmbay: *rumēmbay* 3,3b to spread (Jb., T *rambay*; Z).

rēṇēb: *marēṇēb* 4,2c dense (undergrowth) (correct form *rēṇēb*? Z).

rēṇō: *rēṇēṇēṇ* 19,2b listen to! (Z; Introd., p. 30).

rēsun 9,4c you (Z).

rigrig 3,2b broken (Z).

riṅguṇ: *maṇiṅguṇan* 3,2b to sway back and fro (Z).

riṇraṇ 38,1d; 39,1b perplexed, distressed.

riṇuṣāra 20,4d enemy hero.

roh: *rinohan* 19,8b overwhelmed.

rojeḥ 19,10c bells.

rubuṇ: *rumubuṇ* 25,10c to overwhelm, to shower.

ruhun: *karuhun* 4,3d before, first of all; *ruhunana* 37,2c to be done before something else, to be done first (Z).

runtaṇ 23,4d crushed.

sa 13,3a *metri causā* for *saṇ*, cf. 14,1b. *Śabara* 34,3a; 35,1d a man of low birth (note to 2,1; Z).

Śabarakathana 37,5c the tale of the Śabara.

sabhā 37,6a the court; *pasabhān* 4,1c place frequented by (Z).

sahaja 32,3c, 5c naturally, deliberately, even.

śakti 26,8c mighty weapon.

salah: *masalah* (*ni garve*) 30,9d, 11d to resign, lay down (one's work) (Z).

salaṇ-salaṇ 32,3c shoulders (Z).

salēṣēk: *masalēṣēk* 13,1b dense(ly crowded); *pasalēṣēk* 28,2c density (Z).

salimur: *panalimur* 5,5a means of warding off; *aṇanalimur* 5,6b to have as a means of warding off; *kapanalimura* 37,5a to be used as a means of warding off (Z).

saliriṇ: *analiriṇ* 6,3d darting sideways (like a glance, *liriṇ*?) (Z).

sāmanta 28,3c vassals (Z).

sambaddha 2,1b = *sambandha*, connection, reason, course (of story): *sambaddhanya* the story goes ... (Z).

sambharva see *asambharva*.

sambodhana 35,1a kind words (Z).

sambut: *anambut* (*brata*) 36,1d to carry out (Z).

sameni: *asameni* 37,5a to play together (?); *anameni* 3,7b to accompany (Z).

sami see *sameni*.

samṭar: *kasamṭar* 22,2d trampled.

samun: *masamun* 9,5c lonely, powerless, colourless, weak; *panamun* 38,1d means of stilling (Z).

saṅgēp: *saṅgēpan* 2,3c; 12,3b ready, in full dress (Z).

saṅka: *saṅkan-saṅkan alit* 2,2a from the time of his earliest youth (Z).

saṅkala: *sumaniṅkala* 11,10b to chain (SI pp. 39-40; Z).

santēṇ 6,2c pollen (note; Z).

sapih: *sinapihan* 30,9b dismissed from,

- separated from (Z).
sapu: *sinapu* 19,11d; 26,3d slashed (Z).
sarasah: (m)*anarasah* 3,4d,7c (to lie) spread about (Z).
śarira 30,7c body (note).
sari-sari 6,3c incessant (Z).
sarwi: *sinarwi* 30,11b while (Z).
sarwak: *manawak-narwak* 17,5a to cry out to.
sayat 3,3b cracked (Z).
sēkar: *panēkara* 37,3d to act as floral offerings (Z).
sēlēk see *slēk*.
sēlur: *asēlur* 21,5a continuously, uninterrupted; *aslūran* 23,6a in rows, rank upon rank (Z).
sēnēt: *kasēnēt* 3,6a hidden (Z).
sēnnāddha 2,3c equipped, prepared (Skt. *san-naddha*; Z).
sep 12,2d; 19,5b quickly (Z).
sēpah 9,2c chewed food (Z).
sērah see *srah*.
sēsēk: *kasēsēkan* 26,4d completely blocked.
sewaka: *sinewakana* 32,6c honoured.
siddhi 28,4c effective (Z).
sikēp 19,2c; 23,6a weapons; *masikēp* 20,2a; 30,4a armed (with); *sinikēp* 30,2c taken (Z).
silib 25,7d *amet* —; 25,8a *amrih* — to try to outwit, to outmanoeuvre; *kasilib* 26,9b caught by surprise (Z).
simpan 31,1c *tan* — without erring.
sinhēl 19,12d turban.
sipi 8,2a,2d; 29,2d; 36,3a very, extreme, how!; *tan sipi* 29,3b without faltering; *tan sipi-sipi* 30,2a in no small measure (Z).
sira: *asira-siran* 19,8a in great numbers, all ... together (Z).
sirik: *tan asirik* 13,2c not evading (Z).
sisih: *manisih* 3,11d to flank.
śita 4,5d cool (Z).
Śiwādiśarwari 37,7d the eminent Night of Śiwa.
Śiwaliṅga 5,5c; 37,2b,6b the *liṅga* of Śiwa.
Śiwānalārcana 37,1c the worship of Śiwa's fire (Introd. p. 56).
Śiwapada 27,3b Śiwa's heaven.
Śiwarajani 29,6d; 34,3b the Night of Śiwa (Z).
Śiwarātri 12,1d; 36,1c; 37,8c the Night of Śiwa.
Śiwarātrikalpa 38,1a the observance of the Night of Śiwa.
slēk: *sinlēk* 19,15c blocked, hard pressed (Z).
slēwan 2,5a cleft, chasm, gorge (Z).
slur see *sēlur*.
son: *manoni* 5,3b to overshadow, to shade (Z).
srah: *kasraha* 29,4c to be granted (Z).
srak: *asrak* 9,6c stifled (Z).
srēg: *sinrēg* 21,8b; 23,6b,7d,9b assailed, pursued.
srēp: *kasrēpan* 8,4c refreshed (note; Z); see also *uṣṇa*.
srēt: *asrēt* 22,2b hoarse; *kasrētan* 9,2c to stick fast, to get stuck (food; Z).
sthāwara 33,2d the standing, the immovable (as opposed to *jaṅgama*).
sthūlākāra 1,1b coarse, gross form (Introd. p. 42; Z).
subhaga 38,1a blessed (Z).
sudipa 37,4a bright lamps (note; Z).
sugya 30,10a perhaps.
suhun: *sumuhuna* 37,1b to place on the head.
sukhasadā 36,3d eternally blessed, forever happy.
sukṛta 34,2c good deeds (Z).
sulasih 37,3d a certain plant, *Ocimum basilicum*.
suñ: *asuñ* 19,4d to give, to allow (note, Z).
sundari 5,2c a kind of insect which lives in trees, and the sound of which is usually compared to the crying of a woman (Z).
supit makara 3,1b curving trunks of the water-elephants (Z; Introd. p. 48).
sura 24,4a; 26,9b; 27,3a divine (before proper names; Z).
śūrasāra 27,1c the core of the heroes.
śūrasena 23,1a the army of heroes.
suśatru 21,4d great foes.
susena 26,2a the fine army.
susun: *asusun* 19,9c; 26,2a; 27,1a,2a in formation (Z).
susup: *anusup* 4,5a to penetrate, force one's way into.
suyaśa 29,2c meritorious, famous (Z).
suyug: *sumuyug* 20,1b; 28,8c; 31,1d; 32,7c rushing onward; to rush in.
syok 19,14c; 28,2d din; loud noise (Z).
syuk: *sumyuk* 19,6d to gush, swirl (Z).

tabēh 5,4b; 8,6a hour (note to 5,4b).
takis: *patakis* 15,1d a means of defence.
talayah: *katalayah* 25,4d scattered, flattened all about (Z).
tali: *tinali-tali* 3,7a in rivulets (Z).
tāmbraḡohmukha 11,9d; 19,4d the Cow-Headed Cauldron (of Hell) (Z).
tāmra- see *tāmra*-.
tanah 1,2c pen, stylus (Introd. p. 43; Z).
tanaya: *atanaya* 9,4c having a son; a father (note; Z).
taṇḍēs: (m)*ataṇḍēs* 2,9a; 23,4c short, well-kept (grass, lawn), clean(ly severed, of a head) (Z).
tandwa 19,8a; 21,11b; 23,5b; 23,7d; 28,3a; 28,4d *tatan dwa* 24,5d immediately, unerringly, at once, without doubt.
taṅguli 37,3b a certain plant, Cassia fistula (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 213).
taṅkēṣ 19,9a; 19,14a; 21,9d the shock, clash (of battle); attack!; *paṭaṅkēṣ* 25,8c; 27,3c attack, struggle.
taṅkis 19,14d; *ataṅkis* 21,11d parrying; *tiṇakis* 23,7d ward off (see *takis*).
tanu 33,2c slender, fine.
-tara see *adhamatara*, *adhikatara*.
taramtam: *ataramtam* 14,5c ranked (cf. Agp. p. 351,20).
tatan dwa see *tandwa*.
tatu 28,9d wound (note); *katatwan* 28,9c wounded.
tāwat 29,5d (*yāwat* ... — as long ...) so long.
taṇvēṇ: *anaṇvēṇi* 3,13d to shade, veil, cover (Z).
tēbah: *matēbah* 21,6b to hit, punch.
tēḡak: (m)*anēḡak* 21,4a; 25,4a to attack (Z).
tēka: *katēka-tēka* 9,1a even, going as far as; *katēkana* 1,3a, 3b arealis of *katēkan*, to be allowed, to succeed, to attain (Z).
tēkwan 4,1b,6a and, thereupon, moreover.
tēmah: *atēmah* 39,1a to become, Mal. *mendjadi*; *anēmahakēn* 26,4a to cause, inspire.
tēñēt see *kanēñēt*.
tēñuh: *manēñuhi* 10,1a to melt (Z).
tētēl: *atētēl hati* 9,3d with overflowing heart (*tētēl* normally means dense, crowded; Z).
tēwēk 26,3a; 37,10d time, moment; *sa-*

tēwēk 34,3c since the time (Z).
tibā: *anibā* 15,6b to let oneself fall; *katiba* (sic) 5,4c to (come to) fall (Z).
tigas: *manigasana* 37,1d (arealis from *manigasi*) to put on a new (garment) (T 2,800).
tikēl 19,14d; 24,2c snapped in pieces; *saṇ paṇikēlan tanah* 1,2c he over whom poets break their pens in two (Introd. p. 43; Z).
tilik: *atilik-tilika* 17,1b to look after.
tīrtha 4,5d,6a river, pond, bathing-place, (holy) water (note; Z).
titih 24,3b hard-pressed (Z).
trēg: *katrēg* 28,7b aghast.
trēs: *katrēsān* 19,11c; 23,6c seized with fright, panic-stricken.
trilocana 29,4c three eyes (normal meaning: having three eyes; Śiwa).
truh: *atruh-truh* 2,3a (season) bringing rainy weather; *katruhan* 2,5b (veiled) in the drizzling rain (Z).
tuha 19,15d; 20,3b; 26,2d leader, general; *matuha-tuhā* 31,1b prominent, senior; *tinuha-tuha* 14,1d appointed as generals (Z).
tuha-burū 8,3a hunter (Z).
tuhuk: *anuhuk* 23,2d completely (? note; Z).
tuju: *manuju* 37,8c it happens to be (a certain time).
tumpuk: *matumpuk* 28,8d piled up.
tuna-tuna 3,12d; 9,3d muffled, fading, defective (Z).
tuṇḡa: *atuṇḡa-tuṇḡa* 3,8c tumbling over ledges; in layers (Z).
tuṅgal: (m)*atuṅgalan hajōṇ* 32,1a; — *saṅjata* 14,5c; 15,3c each having its own beauty / weapons (Z).
tuṅkub 2,9b (*tuṅkub-tuṅkub*) shrines in a temple courtyard, cf. AW 29,7 AbhW 2,20 (Z); see also *cunḡub* (T 1,681): chapel in the kraton where the goddess Durgā is said to reside.
tutur I *kuraṇ* — 37,6d thoughtless; (m)*atutur* 35,2d; 37,9a to remain or become conscious; 8,7b to remember (note; Z).
tutur II: *anutur-muturakēna* 9,7c to follow everywhere (Z).
tuwuk: *anuwuki* 8,7d to satisfy (Z).
twan: (m)*anwan* 19,11b; 35,2d to see; *tan paṇwan* 4,5b without seeing (Jb., etc.: *ton*; Introd. p. 29).

- twas* 8,1b to have in mind, to be set on (Z; note).
- ubat-abit*: *inubat-abit* 23,9b struck on all sides, laid about (Z).
- uḍa* see *uḍoḍa*.
- udaya* 8,7a the mountains in the east, here = *udayagiri* (Z).
- uḍoḍa*: *manuḍoḍa* 3,9a to hang down (from *uḍa-uḍa*).
- undur*: *kondur* 19,15c driven back; to withdraw (Z).
- uni*: *unyan-unyan* 37,5a musical instruments (Mod. Jav. *unèn-unèn*; Z); see *huni*.
- uñjuk*: *koñjuk* 3,1a to rise; high (Z).
- upèt*: *inuḗt* 3,4d scolded (note; Z).
- urat*: *koratan* 19,9b wounded (? cf. *wrat*?).
- uṣṣa srēp* 9,1c fever, lit. hot and cold, cf. Mod. Jav. *panas tis* (Z).
- uwah*: *anuwahi* 30,9a to alter.
- wādhaka* 11,7a resisting, preventing (Z).
- waduri* 37,3a a certain plant (Hooykaas, 1964, p. 213).
- wahu* 19,6b; 21,12a just, just about to; *wahu-wahu* 35,2d just; *wahu winahwan* 3,5a freshly tended (gardens); *amahwa-mahwani* 32,1b to set about putting in order (Z).
- wahuy*: *umaluya* 31,4c — *awak*, to take the form of (Z).
- wāṇḍira* 2,5d a banyan tree (Z).
- waṇsul*: *kawaṇsul* 28,6b returned, sent back; *winan-su-waṇsulan* 30,11b turned back and forth (pages) (Z).
- weda*: *marweda* 31,3d to recite Vedas (note).
- wedawit* 37,6b expert in the Vedas (see previous entry).
- wēlkan* 4,4c hungry (?) (in all other places it seems to mean thirsty! Z).
- wētū*: *awētū* 3,10b (*riris*); 38,2a (*bhāṣa*); 39,1b (*riṇraṇ*) to produce, bring forth, drop; *amētṭwakēn* 3,8b to cause, bring forth (Z).
- widyut*: *awidyut* 28,2b like lightning.
- wigraha*: *pamigraha* 14,5b instruments for catching (Z).
- wimānasādhana* 30,4b having the *wimāna* as his carriage (Z).
- wini* 8,1c yesterday (Z).
- wirasiniha* 28,8c heroic lions (Z).
- wiwarapāla* 3,1d temple-guardians (Z).
- wiwarja*: *winiwarja* 3,2d separated (?) (note; Z).
- wiwudha* 14,2b divinity, god.
- wōs*: *kawōs* 21,7c panic-stricken.
- wukir* 2,4d — *anak* hill; *wukiran* = *ukiran*, relief (?) (Introd. p. 49; Z has a different opinion: *wukiran* = *gunūnan*) (Z).
- wunuh*: *maxwunuhan* 19,14b slaughtering each other.
- wuraṇḍunēn* 39,1a completely dismal.
- wuyun*: *winuyun* 22,1d angrily attacked (Z).
- wyat* 28,5d *tan hana* — powerless, helpless.
- yāma* 37,2d watch (of the night); *saka sayāma* 37,4d watch by watch.
- Yamaḥpada* 19,5b Yama's dwelling.
- yāwat* 29,5c (... *tāwat*) as long as (... so long).
- ywa* 3,6d; 5,7d emphatic particle, ± = *ḥwa*, *ya* (Z).

LIST OF PROPER NAMES FOUND IN ŚIWARĀTRIKALPA

- Ādi-Surabrahāwa 1,2d; the king under whom Tanakuṇ wrote ŚR; born of the line of Girindra.
- Anin-anin 26,9a; Jav., name of a weapon producing wind; cf. Samirāstra.
- Antaka 15,2c; 20,4b; 21,1a; 21,2a; 21,8c; 21,11a; 21,13b; 23,2b; 25,2a; 25,5a; 25,6a; 25,7c; 25,9b; 25,9c; 25,10c; 26,7a; 28,3b; 28,10b; Skt. "death", also a name of Yama; here a general of the Kiṅkaras.
- Caṇḍa 15,2a; 26,1b; 28,9a; Skt., a general of the Kiṅkaras; Sør.: = Skanda; = Śiwa.
- Citragupta 30,10c; 30,11a; Skt., one of Yama's attendants (recorder of men's good and evil deeds).
- Citrodumbara 15,2c; one of the generals of the Kiṅkaras; not in Sør., Dowson.
- Dharma 14,4b; 14,5a; 30,1c; = Yama, q.v.
- Dharmapati 31,1a; = Yama, q.v.
- Dharmarāja 28,10d; = Yama, q.v.
- Gajendrawadana 37,2c; i.e. "the god with the face of the elephant-king", = Gaṇeṣa, god of wisdom and of obstacles (son of Śiwa and his wife Pārwatī), mentioned in association with Kumāra, q.v.; not in Sør., Dowson, etc.
- Gaṇa 11,3a and passim; Skt., troops of demi-gods attendant on Śiwa.
- Gaṇādhipa 30,9d; Skt. "chief of the Gaṇas", a name of Śiwa.
- Gaṇapati 13,2b; Skt. "lord of the Gaṇas", a name of Śiwa.
- Gaṇaratha 13,3b; 27,1b; one of the generals of the Gaṇas; not in Sør., Dowson, etc.
- Ghorawikrama 15,2c; 21,2b; 21,8c; 21,12b; 23,2b; one of the generals of the Kiṅkaras; not in Sør., Dowson, Pur. Ind.
- Girīndraduhitā 36,1b; 37,10b; i.e. "the daughter of Girindra (lord among mountains, = Hima-vat)", = Pārwatī, the spouse of Śiwa; not in Sør., Dowson, Pur. Ind.
- Girīndratānaya 37,10b; see Girīndraduhitā.
- Girīndrawaṇśa 1,2d; "the family (line, race, dynasty) of Girindra", the name of a dynasty in the late Majapahit period — see Krom, 1931, p. 451 — to which (*dyah*) Surabrahāwa belonged.
- Giriśa 30,11d; Skt., (also Giriśa) = Śiwa, q.v.
- Iśa 30,8a; 35,2b; Skt. "lord"; a name of Śiwa.
- Iśwara 11,3c; 11,8a; 12,1a; 13,1a; 19,3b; 29,6a; 29,6b; 30,9b; 32,5a; 32,7c; 37,10a; Skt. "lord"; a name of Śiwa.
- Jagatguru 29,6c; the Teacher of the World, = Śiwa; Skt. Jagatguru; not in Mahab. (Sør., Dowson).
- Jagatpati 11,3b; 29,2a; 32,7d; 34,7b; 37,10b; Skt. "lord of the world"; a name of Śiwa.
- Jalāhwana 26,7b; Skt. *jala* (water) + *ā-hvāna* (calling, summons); here name of an arrow which causes rain; not in Sør. or Pur. Ind.
- Kailāsa 31,2c; 31,3a; Skt., name of a mountain in the Himālaya range and the location of Śiwa's heaven.
- Kāla 15,2b; 26,1b; 28,6a; 28,10b; name of one of the generals of the Kiṅkaras; Sør.: = Antaka, Mrtyu, Yama; Pur. Ind.: Kala III a son of Dhanva; a

- Vasava; a Viśvadeva; Kala IV a Bhairava god.
- Khagapati, Khagendra 28,5c; 28,5d; "Bird-King", name of an arrow; in Skt. a name of Garuḍa; not in Sør., Dowson, Pur. Ind.
- Kiṅkara 11,10a; and passim; the servants of Yama; Skt., servant, slave; a kind of *rākṣasa*; one of Śiwa's attendants (!); Sør.: a tribe of Rākshasas.
- Kirṇaśakti 28,6b; Skt. "scattered, dispersed power"; here the name of an arrow; not in Sør., Dowson, Pur. Ind.
- Kumāra 37,2c; a name of Skanda, son of Śiwa; mentioned here in conjunction with Gajendrawadana, q.v.
- Lubdhaka 2,1b; 4,1b; 4,5d; 7,1b; 11,7c; 11,8d; 14,4c; 15,5b; 19,1c; 19,2d; 19,4b; 19,5a; 29,1c; 29,2b; 29,6a; 30,1d; 30,2b; 30,4b; 30,9a; 30,10a; 34,2b; 34,5a; 34,7d; 37,5d; Skt., a hunter; the star Sirius. Here the main character of the story, who unintentionally carries out the Śiwarātri ritual, and although originally of evil disposition obtains a prominent place in Śiwa's heaven.
- Māgha 28,6c; 36,2d; the (Hindu) seventh month (= January-February), the prescribed month for performance of the Śiwarātri ritual.
- Mahācaṇḍa 15,2c; Skt., one of Yama's generals; not in Sør., Pur. Ind.
- Mahodara 14,1b; 19,2a; 19,4a; Skt. "big-bellied", name of a *dānava*, name of a *rākṣasa*, etc.; here one of the generals of Yama; Pur. Ind.: a leader of Śiwa's Gaṇas.
- Maṇipuṣpaka 12,2c; 12,3d; Skt., name of the conch-shell of Saha-dewa; here the jewelled chariot of Śiwa (see also Puṣpaka).
- Nāgapāśa 28,5b; 28,6a; Skt., a sort of magical noose (used in battles); here interpreted as the name of a type of arrow.
- Nandana 13,3a; Skt., an attendant of Skanda, etc.; here a general of the Gaṇas.
- Nila 15,2b; 21,2a; 21,8c; 21,11c; 21,12a; 23,2b; 23,7a; 23,8a; 24,1b; 24,4c; 25,1a; 25,2d; 25,5b; Skt. "of a dark colour"; a general of the Kiṅkaras.
- Parameṣṭimṛtyu 15,2b; 26,1b; Skt., a chief god of the Jains; here a general of the Kiṅkaras.
- Paśupati 30,3b; 31,3a; Skt. "lord of animals", a name of Śiwa.
- Piṅgalākṣa 14,1b; 27,1b; 27,3a; 28,1b; 28,3b; 28,4a; 28,5a; 28,5c; Skt. "having reddish-brown eyes", a name of Śiwa; here a general of the Gaṇas.
- Pracaṇḍa 15,2a; 19,4a; 19,6a; 26,1b; 28,3c; 28,4d; 28,9a; Skt., name of a *dānava*; a general of the Kiṅkaras.
- Prakarṣa 14,1c; 23,1c; 23,5c; 24,3d; 25,7c; 25,9a; 25,9d; 25,10a; 26,5b; 26,8a; 26,9b; 27,1a; Skt. "pre-eminence, excellence"; a general of the Gaṇas.
- Puṣpadanta 13,3b; 19,13a; 19,15a; 20,1b; 20,1c; 20,2a; 20,3c; 20,4d; 21,7d; 21,8a; 21,8d; 21,10c; 21,11d; 21,13c; 22,1a; Skt. "flower-toothed", an attendant of Śiwa; here a general of the Gaṇas.
- Puṣpaka 19,3c; name of Śiwa's vehicle (see also Maṇipuṣpaka, id.); Sør.: the vimāna of Kubera; also in Dowson: stolen by Rāvaṇa, used by Rāma.
- Ratih 31,4c; Skt. *raṭi*, "sexual passion", the name of the spouse of Kāma (god of love).
- Reṇukarṇa 14,1c; 23,1c; 25,10d; 26,5a; "dust-ear", Skt.?; a general of the Gaṇas; not in Sør., Dowson; no Pur. Ind. for R.
- Rudra 31,2b; 31,4a; 36,3d; a name of Śiwa.
- Śabara 34,3a; 35,1d; 37,5c; Skt. "name of a wild mountaineer tribe in the Decan (in later language applied to any savage or barbarian)"; here applied to the hunter Lubdhaka.
- Śailendraduhitā 31,4b; Skt. "daughter of Himālaya", a name of Pārwaṭī, spouse of Śiwa.
- Śakra 28,7c; Skt., a name of Indra; here mentioned as being fearful and confused at the din of battle.
- Śambhu 31,1c; Skt., a name of Śiwa.
- Samīrāstra 28,6d; Skt. *samīra* (wind) + *astra* (weapon, arrow); here the name

of a weapon producing wind; cf. Anin-
aṇin.
 Śaṅkara 12,3a; 19,6c; 30,1a; 34,1a; Skt.,
 a name of Śiwa.
 Śarāgni 26,6a; Skt. "arrow" + "fire";
 name of an arrow producing fire; cf.
 Śastrabāhni.
 Śastrabāhni 26,7c; Skt. "sword" + "fire";
 here the name of a weapon which
 produces fire; cf. Śarāgni.
 Śiwa 11,2b; 11,7d; 11,9c; 19,3c; 27,3b;
 29,3a; 29,4b; 29,5b; 29,5d; 30,4b; 30,7c;
 30,8c; 34,3a; 34,5d; 35,1b; 37,1c; 37,9c;
 Skt., name of the (Hindu) god whose
 worship this poem treats especially;
 he is here regarded as the highest of
 the gods, and has his heaven on the
 peak of Mt. Kailāsa; his servants, the
 Gaṇas, convey the soul of Lubdhaka
 to heaven to enjoy his reward.
 Somawarṇa 14,1c; 27,1b; a general of
 the Gaṇas; not in Sør., Dowson.
 Suraprabhāwa see Ādi-Suraprabhāwa.
 Tāmra Gohmukha 11,9d; Skt. *tāmra* (a
 copper container) + *gomukha* (having
 the face of a cow), i.e. the ancient Java-
 nese and Balinese conception of a hot
 hell — a large cauldron, with a fire
 under it and decorated with cow's
 heads on either end, into which sinners
 are thrown as punishment.
 Tāmra Gohwaktra 19,4d — see Tāmra
 Gohmukha.
 Tanakuṇ 38,1c; author of this poem,
 Wṛttasañcaya and other works; worked
 latter half 15th century in East Java,

see Introduction.
 Trinagarāntaka 34,1b; 34,7a; "he who
 is the end of the three worlds", i.e.
 Śiwa; not in Sør., Dowson, Pur. Ind.
 Trinayana 31,3d; 36,1b; "the three-eyed
 one", i.e. Śiwa.
 Trirājyāntaka 35,1c; see Trinagarāntaka.
 Ūrdhwakeśa 13,3b; 19,13a; 23,1a; 24,3c;
 25,10d; 26,5a; Skt. "hair on end"; here
 a general of the Gaṇas.
 Ugrakarṇa 15,2b; 19,10b; 19,11a; 20,1a;
 20,1d; 20,2b; 20,3a; 20,4c; 21,4c; Skt.
 "terrible-ear", a general of the Kinka-
 ras; not in Sør., Dowson or Pur. Ind.
 Widhi 17,5c; Skt. "fate, destiny" (here
 personified).
 Wirabhadra 14,1b; 23,1b; 23,5c; 23,7c;
 24,1a; 24,1d; 24,3b; 24,4a; 25,5a; 25,5d;
 25,6d; Skt., a form of Śiwa; here a
 general of the Gaṇas.
 Yama 11,2d; 11,7b; 11,10d; 14,4c; 14,5a;
 15,2d; 18,1b; 19,5b; 19,7b; 19,10a;
 20,3b; 23,2a; 23,6a; 26,3b; 29,1a; 30,1b
 (x 2); 30,7a; 30,11c; 32,7b; 34,4c;
 35,1a; 35,1b; Skt., the god who rules
 over the spirits of the dead; here he
 rules over Hell, and has the function
 (laid on him by Śiwa) of distinguishing
 between good and evil-doers, as well
 as of inflicting punishments.
 Yamapati 34,7a; "the lord Yama", q.v.
 Yamādhipa 29,1a; "the lord Yama", q.v.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AbhW	(<i>kakawin</i>) Abhimanyuwīwāha.
Agp	Agastyaparwa.
AW	(<i>kakawin</i>) Arjunawīwāha.
AWj	(<i>kakawin</i>) Arjunawijaya.
Bal.	Balinese.
<i>B.E.F.E.O.</i>	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.
BK	(<i>kakawin</i>) Bhomakāwya.
<i>B.K.I.</i>	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, publ. by the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
BY	(<i>kakawin</i>) Bhāratayuddha.
Cod. Or.	Codex Orientalis.
GK	(<i>kakawin</i>) Ghaṭotkacāśraya.
HW	(<i>kakawin</i>) Hariwaṇśa.
Jb.	Juynboll: <i>Woordenlijst</i> .
Kon. Inst.	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology).
Mal.	Malay.
Mod. Jav.	Modern Javanese.
Nāg	(<i>kakawin</i>) Nāgarakṛtāgama.
O.D.	Oudheidkundige Dienst.
OJ	Old Javanese (language).
<i>O.V.</i>	Oudheidkundig Verslag.
Parar.	Pararaton.
Pur. Ind.	Ramachandra Dikshitar: <i>Purana Index</i> .
RY	(<i>kakawin</i>) Rāmāyaṇa.
ś.	Śaka (year).
SD	(<i>kakawin</i>) Smaradahana.
SI	Gonda: <i>Sanskrit in Indonesia</i> .
Skt.	Sanskrit.
Sør.	Sørensen: <i>An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata...</i>
śR	(<i>kakawin</i>) Śiwarātrikalpa.
Sum	(<i>kakawin</i>) Sumanasāntaka.
Sut	(<i>kakawin</i>) Sutasoma.
T	Van der Tuuk: Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek.
<i>T.B.G.</i>	Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
<i>V.B.G.</i>	Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
<i>V.G.</i>	H. Kern: <i>Verspreide Geschriften</i> .
<i>V.K.A.</i>	Verhandelingen Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
<i>V.K.I.</i>	Verhandelingen Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
WS	(<i>kakawin</i>) Wṛttasāṁcaya.
Z	Lexicographical material for Old Javanese in the possession of Professor P. J. Zoetmulder.

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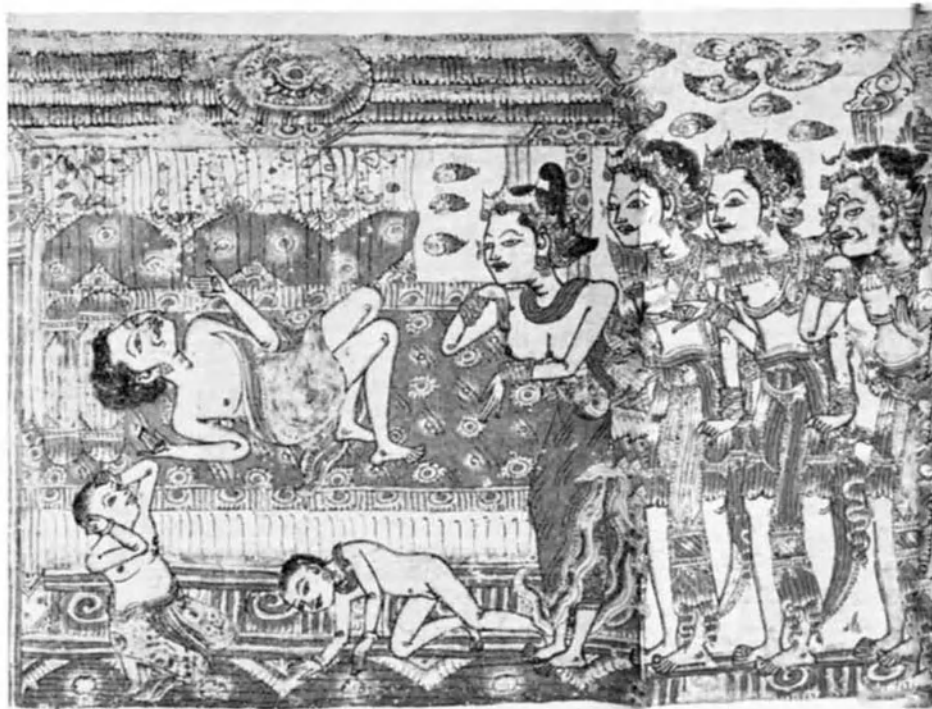
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NOTE: The numbers of the plates indicate the continuity of the cloth itself, and the numbers of the scenes that of the story, according to the description on pp. 215-255. On Plates Ia to IIa the story runs from left to right; on Plates IIIb to IIb from right to left.



SCENE 4

ILLUSTRATION 1



SCENE 1

SCENE 2

PLATE Ia

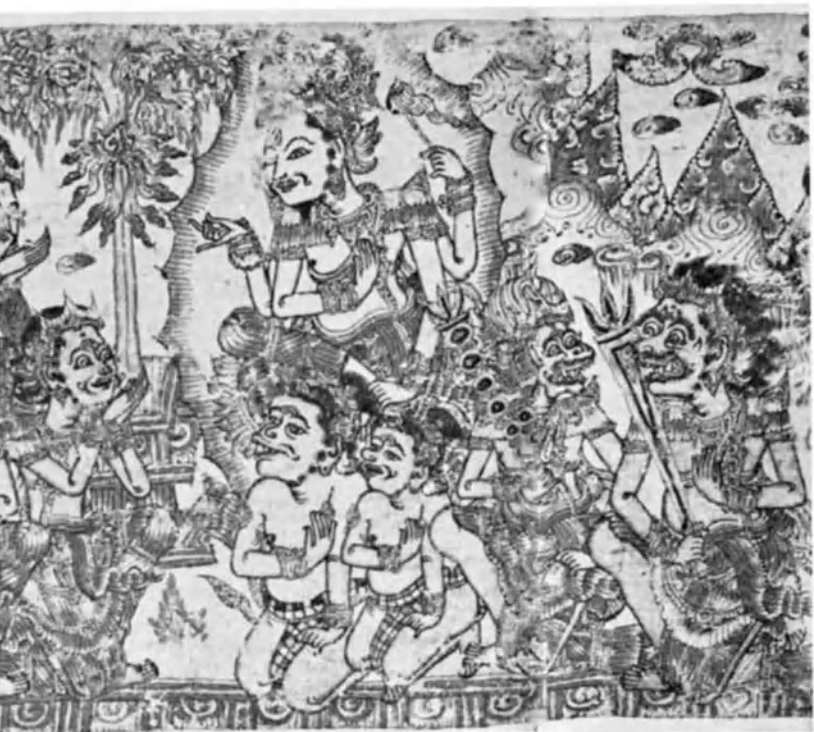


SCENE 5

PLATE Ib



SCENE 3



SCENE 6





Prakarṣa

Renukarṇa

Somawarṇa



(b)



Wirabhadra

Mahodara

Piṅgalākṣa

Puṣpadanta

Gaṇaratha

SCENE 7
PLATE IIa



(g)

SCENE 10 (cont.)
PLATE IIb



Ūrdhwakeśa

Nandana

(parēkan)

Puṣpaka

*Cont. on
Plate IIIb*



(f)

(e)



←

(d)

(c)

Cont. on
Plate IIb

SCENE 10



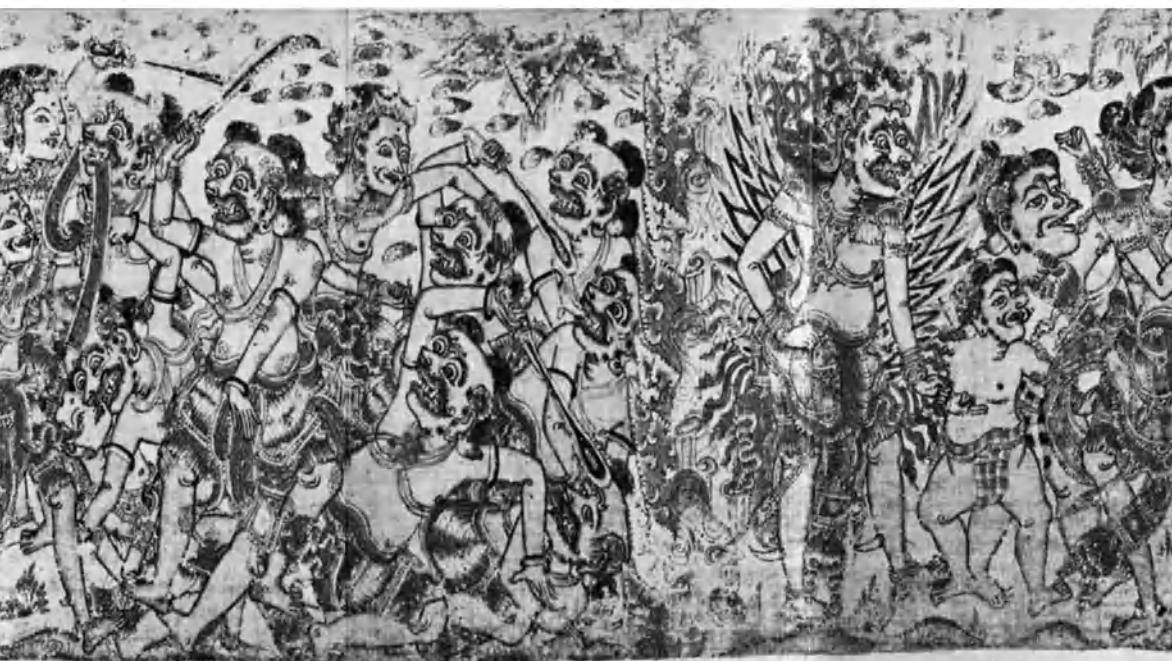
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(parēkan)

Caṇḍa

Pracaṇḍa

Cont. on
Plate IIIa



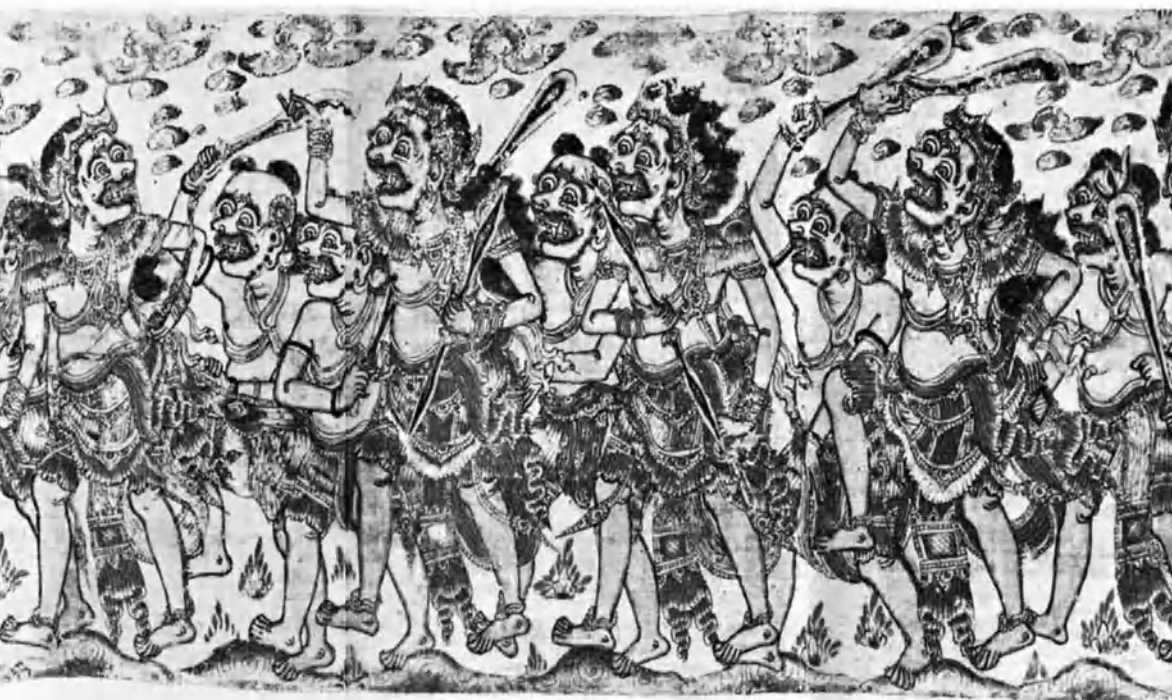
(b)

(a)

Puṣpaka

Maho

PLATE IIIa



Kāla

Parameṣṭimṛtyu

Nila

Ugrakarma

SCENE 8 PLATE IIIb



odara

Pracanda



SCENE 9



Citrodumbara

Ghorawikrama

Mahacanda



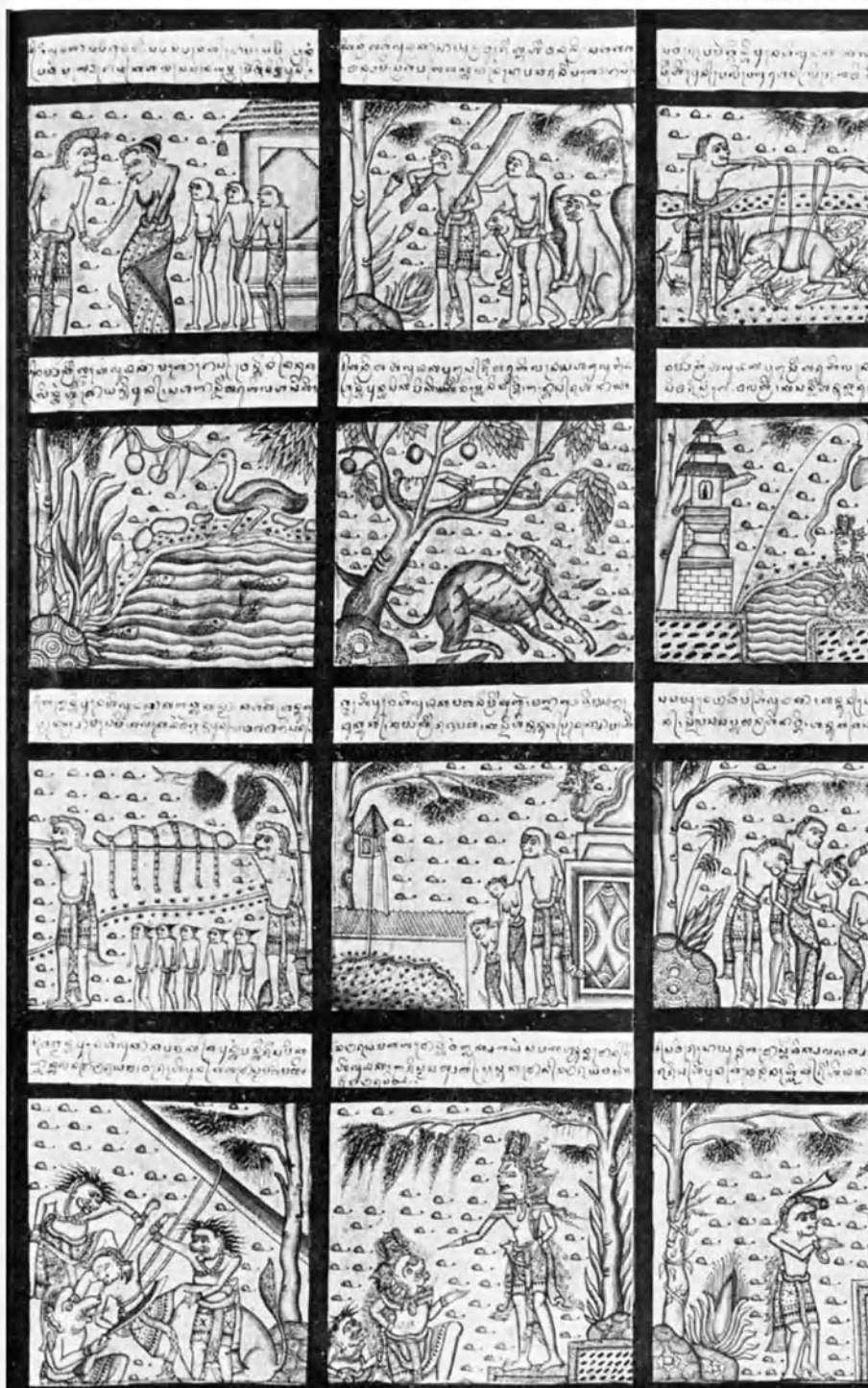
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PLATE IV





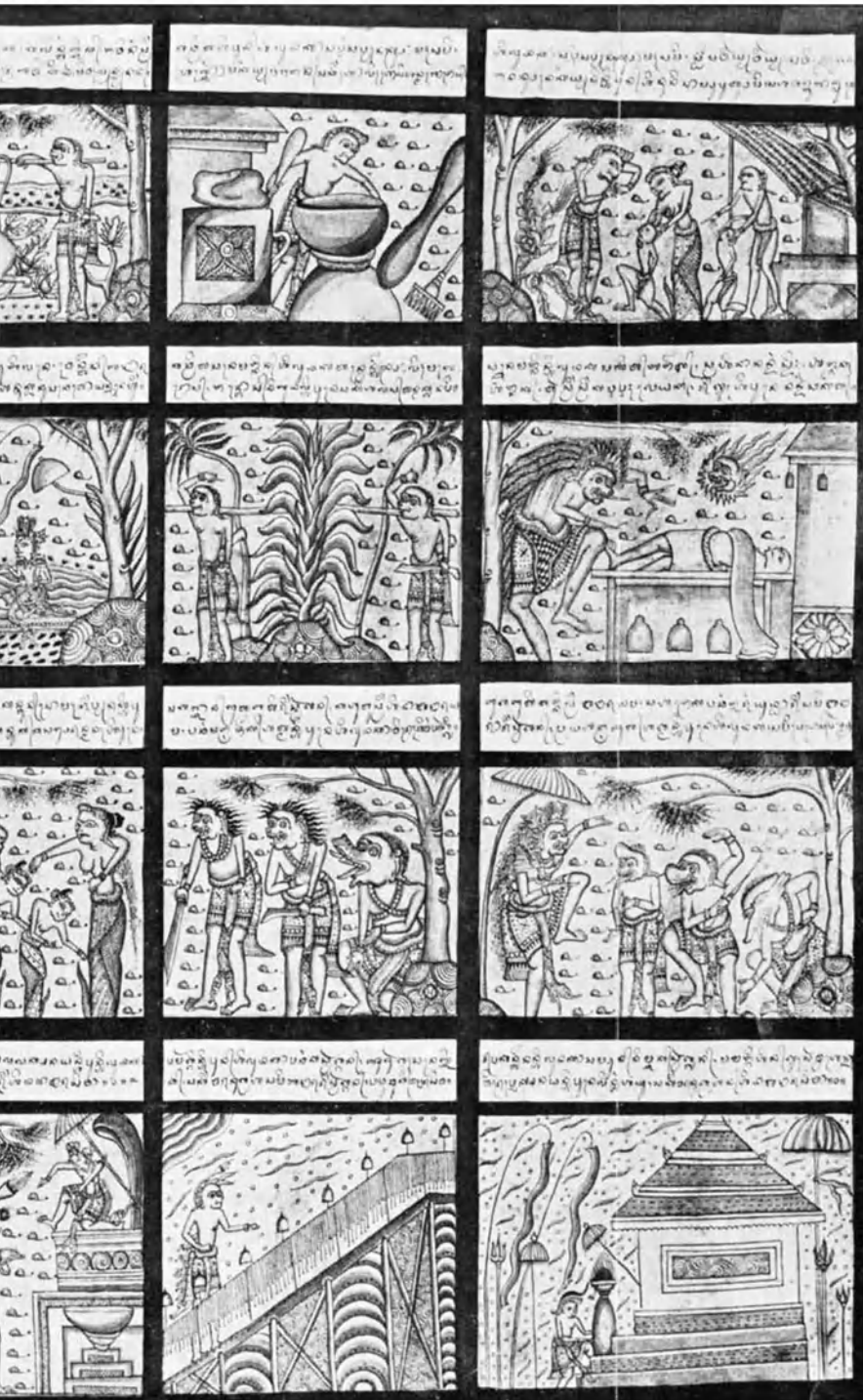


ILLUSTRATION 3



PLATE VI